

Abolishing the Borders from Below

THE

abb

October 2008

#33



inside!

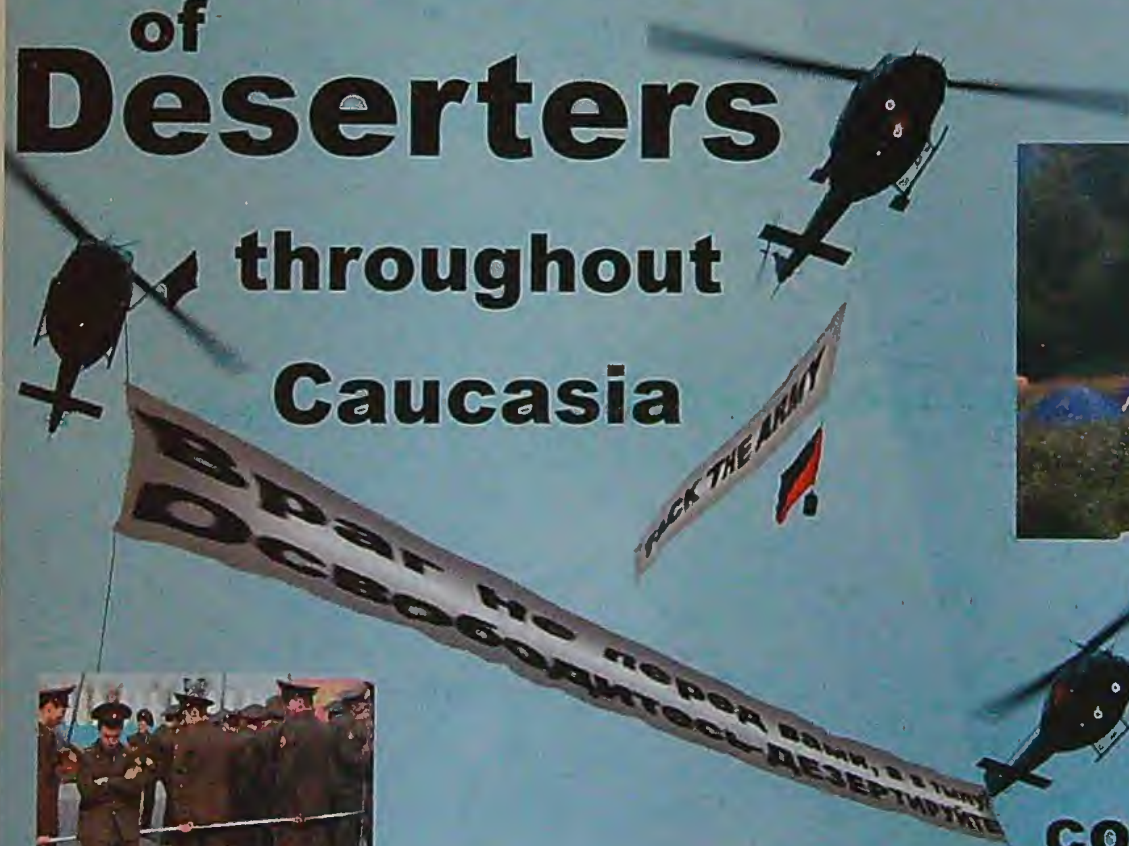
**WIN LARGE
QUANTITIES!**

Millions

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**throughout
Caucasia**



**Thousands
of free
communities!**



**Fotostory
The Fall of
Capitalism**



REVEALED



**Cops:
"We're just pissing on it all!"**

Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe

There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that this process does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation, like those established by elitist institutions such as the EU, NATO or UN, it has to be done from below, by the people. There is an enduring need to immediately abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, cooperation and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In order to push that process forward with support for the development of the anarchist movement over the borders we have created ...

***Abolishing the Borders from Below:
An Anarchist Journal from
Eastern Europe***

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and its effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE itself, as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. The process of creating an editorial team for AbolishingBB was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...

"Abolishing the Borders from Below"

An Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe

AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL

"AbolishingBB" is a bi-monthly magazine with information on different political and cultural processes and activities in Eastern Europe seen, commented on and analysed from an anarchist perspective.

EDITORIAL TEAM & ABB COLLECTIVE

ABB is an international collective of migrant anarchist activists living in Berlin. The collective was formed in Autumn 2001 by a group of east-european migrant activists and was later joined by other migrant activists from other parts of the world. As well as this publication the collective also organizes a radio-show, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings and cultural events. We also cooperate with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and support local and global struggles against all kinds of oppression and for a free-society.

CORRESPONDENTS

Our work would not be possible without the great contributions of our correspondents from around EE. The work is based on a relatively stable network of correspondents from different regions of EE which cover the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on a non-profit basis.

EXECUTORS

Publishing, editing, text treatment, translation, photos & graphics treatment, layout, cover concept, english-proof, distribution to the local distributors, website design ... all done by ABB Collective, Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB

COOPERATION

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective

as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region.

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution. You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

FREE COPIES / PRINT RUN

Free copies go to prisoners, all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe (who get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents. At the moment we print by ourselves 1500 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

FINANCES

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our costs only through selling the newspaper so we would appreciate, if possible, benefits from outside

BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION

As you probably noticed *THE ENGLISH* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its gramatical and stylistic ideals. It is mostly because this is *ENGLISH* in which most of our correspondents, big part of our readers and most of us (as the editors) are communicating. So obviously we choose to use *ENGLISH* which is understandable for ourselves. Secondly, we decided to be rather "*BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION*" newspaper as to rise a level of language and this way eliminate probably 30-60% of our regular readers, especially in south and eastern Europe.

ABOLISHINGBB ONLINE

www.abb.hardcore.lt

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basically - an archive of texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Check it out (some chapters are still under construction).

NOT 100%

We do not necessarily agree 100% with all opinions expressed in the journal, but all here we found worth printing (for various reasons) !!!

Contact Details for AbolishingBB and Distributors you'll find on Page 71

We are looking for correspondents from the regions of Eastland, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania, Turkey, Armenia und Georgia.

**Anarchists
towards the
NEW WAR IN THE
CAUCASUS**

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**SHUT DOWN EU
MIGRANT
HUNTERS!**

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MEDIA IN
CAPITALIST SOCIETY
Polemics, interviews,
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ROZBRAT
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**The first
GAY PRIDE
PARADE IN
BULGARIA
Report**

ABC * AntiG8-2008 Protests * Announcements * Communities in Struggle

We were just reading texts on Filipina women workers organizing and resisting in Romania when analytical texts on anarchism in Bulgaria came to us from Africa... This is more or less what we meant 7 years ago when giving the name to our manipulative journal. Anyway, this very late issue of the journal deals mostly with...

WAR, MEDIA and LABOUR STRUGGLES

This summer struck with yet another nationalist bloodshed right in the backyard of Eastern Europe. The so-called conflict between Georgia and Russia represents, for one, the newest turn in the long row of rivaling nationalisms in Caucasia. Furthermore, though, it marks a clash between power fantasies of the Georgian government and expansionist ambitions of the NATO on the one hand and hegemonial interests of the Russian Federation on the other hand. As history has shown more than enough, neither of the combatant parties should be mistaken to pursue "humanitarian reasons" for real. When it comes to the people whose live is hard enough in the realities of capitalist "peace" and who now had to suffer from capitalist-statist war, none of those in power actually gives a shit as long as their power is in threatened. We print two statements about (and against) the war from CRAS-IWA and Autonomous Action, both based in the territory occupied by the state of Russia - we'd have loved to print something from people in Georgia as well, but unfortunately we don't have access to such information just yet. But in the last second, we got a third very interesting report related to this topic, a report from Russian activists that managed to get into the conflict region in order to proof directly what actually had happened there in the previous weeks and what the situation is like there right now. This report we set as part of chapter with anti-militaristic materials, however one of the strongest points of this text is its corrective character, dealing critically with the facts, numbers and information which we got served by commercial media which either used mostly government sources of

information or just prepared the information in the way the specific powers hiding behind this media wanted the story to be presented to the masses around the globe.

Apropos last second. Due to several complications we were forced to postpone our printing date by - considerably longer than we

wanted. This, on the one hand, resulted in some material we print to be quite old. So we decided to review what might be already

too out-of-date - which, on the other hand, enabled us to include some fresh articles which we could not have published if it were not for our delay in printing. So, that's the positive aspect about this year's very late "summer issue". Anyway, in the interest of our own mental health we hope for a little less stress with the next issue... ;)

That takes us to our cover, which probably looked a bit strange at first glance. Don't be too shocked, though. The views expressed thereon are, unrealistic and exaggerated as they are, of course, some of what we'd wish for the future in some way or the other. Apart from that, though, it is supposed to allude to yellow-press newspapers with their rather primitive, and yet manipulative, design and content. The goal was to ask if or in how far (even) "free media" tend to manipulate by exaggerations, half truths, placing content in certain contexts etc., check, for example, the sometimes unimaginable variances in counts of attendants to actions... The questions, thus, is to the dangers and responsibilities connected with "becoming the media". How to distribute information without imposing or inter-

preting it in a way that it would become fraudulent? A problem especially concerning less interactive (compared to blogs, IMCs etc.) print media such as ours. So far, we have no final answers - as they say, the road is made by walking.

So, free media is also our main topic, a practice which we chose to take up again for this issue. We wanted our correspondents to write about media, that is: the communication/spreading of ideas. As there are a lot of criticisms of corporate media out there already, we thought it more interesting to look forward, that is to focus on alternative ways of mediating information.

In that context, self-published zines are certainly of relevance, the most popular form of uncommercial publishing before the rise of the internet. Interestingly, in Belarus there is a flourishing variety of zines up to this day. In this issue you can find an interview with one of the organizers of the ZineFest in Minsk this September.

Other topics touched are the problematics of activists working for mainstream media and being politically active at the same time, video activism and independent media centres.

The rapid technological development in the past years has led to a dramatic increase in the significance of the internet, which is, as a matter of fact, an incorporation of the ideal of informational networks and only made possible IMCs as we know them. However, even when informational technology and access to the internet (or its predecessors) was still in its infancy and tightly in the hands of the elites - as was the case in Eastern Europe even longer compared to the "Western countries" - Richard Stallman was aware of the dangers that the development



of the limited and commercial programming would bring. Thus, 25 years ago, he created GNU GPL, the General Public License, for his operating system GNU with completely free source code.

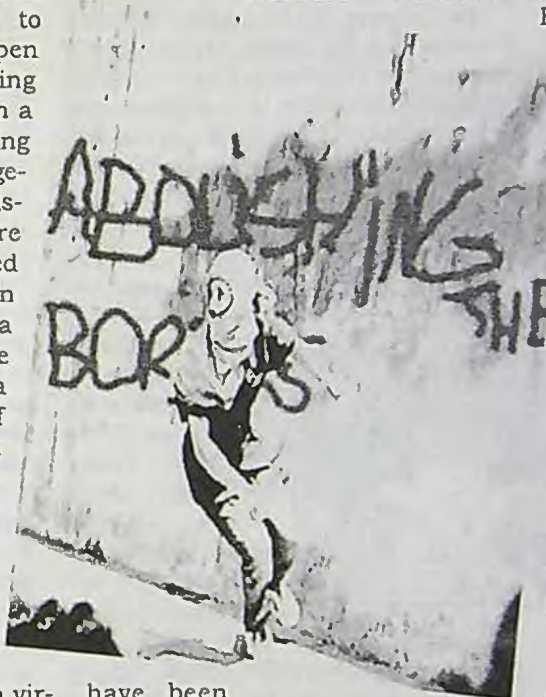
The underlying philosophy of sharing knowledge was a very important moment for the future of the free flux of information and thus for the further development of independent media. That's why you will find some texts concerned with Open Source in this issue of ABB. Actually, at least some of us regard this underlying philosophy and its applications in getting people organized around various goals as very promising. Be those goals programming useful tools and enabling a community to enhance them by using open source code or be they sharing information and data freely on a global scale and thereby laying the foundation for fast large-scale communication and discussion, the free software movement seems quite rooted in some libertarian spirit. In that light, we are glad to have a self-representation from the group Palash from Czechia that kind of links the field of "traditional" anarchist activism and those "techno-libertarian" developments.

Of course, not everything that glitters is gold, and those developments certainly have their drawbacks as well, e.g. people getting lost in virtual worlds or unjust distribution of access to modern means of communication. Yet if we want it or not, information technology is more and more present in our lives, so it is worth to know about possible alternatives to the monopolistic giants (Microsoft, Macintosh etc.) or about security in the net in times of general surveillance. We hope that choosing it as a main topic will bring some changes to us and our further work as well, for instance changing the tools we are using for making the magazine.

Apart from that, another topical issue are labour struggles. There are the strikes of dock workers in Romania, as well as repressions

against immigrant workers for trying to resist exploitation and open fraud by organizing. On another case of repression against organized workers we have already reported in earlier issues and, in this issue, offer an update on the situation of Jakub, who was fired by Lionbridge for his engagement as union organizer.

Polish authorities in cooperation with employers have recently ave generally intensified their repressive activities against workers and anarchists which without a doubt has a lot to do with growing activities of various anarcho-syndicalistic organisations in that region. Especially, members of the Workers' Initiative



have been facing a lot of troubles in recent time. Just check the "Memories from Auchan" text as well as an interview with Bartek Kantorezyk, postman, member of Workers' Initiative, dismissed recently because of his resistance towards the management of the Polish Post. According to our information, polish anarcho-syndicalists can hardly cover all costs of anti-repression work by themselves right now, so international support in these terms would most probably be very welcome.

Furthermore, you can find information on the large scale strikes in Czechia in June and on some other acute labour struggles across Eastern Europe.

It looks like the historical texts have found their place among the other topics of ABB and they appear more or less regularly in the magazine. This time, we want to present you a short biographical text about Grigori Gorelik aka Anatolii, an Ukrainian anarchist, and the other one is a - quite comprehensive - analytical text about the anarchist movement in Bulgaria which has come to us from...Africa (yes, this rather indirect way was a surprise also for us :-)).

Except from the texts mentioned above, you will find reports on the anti-FRONTEX actions in Warsaw, Gay Pride Parade in Bulgaria and other news from Eastern Europe.

Again, we would like to thank for the help you are providing us with in various ways and which only makes this project possible! As a matter of fact, we are again dependent on financial support because the costs of print and shipment of the magazine are higher than our income from the wide distribution. Talking about support, we'd be glad for more regular reports from such areas as Caucasia and the Balcans, for instance. If you don't find your region properly covered in the magazine, feel free to get active - and let us know about it!

So we leave you in the spirit of our main topic: Don't believe the hype... but make it real! ;)

Free communication for free communities!

Salute,

**Abolishing the Borders
from Below**

Editorial Collective

BTW:

We ENSURE you that we will bring one more issue of our journal before the end of the year... and at the same time, we are reminding you:
NEVER TRUST THE MEDIA!

"The new war has again taken libertarian internationalists by surprise. Again we missed the signs of escalation, and the bloodthirsty rulers had a great advantage before us in the field of information"

"Irrespective of the results of the war, the Russian militarists, nationalists, fascists and rulers are already among the winners. And the peaceful people in South Ossetia and Georgia have already lost"

"A solution lies not in seeking out who is guilty, but in the search for alternatives. And alternatives should not be sought in the model of "nation-states", which is doomed to failure in Caucasia, where different nationalities have always been living heterogeneously mixed"

Get Active Against the New War in Caucasus

In the night from August 7 to August 8, the conflict that had been building up in the course of one week entered a new phase, when Georgia started an outright attack on the capital of the unrecognized republic of South Ossetia Tskhinvali. Actually, this is just the latest step in a scenario that has been developing for a long time. In the course of that scenario it has become obvious that neither the Russian, nor the Georgian elites want or need peace.

It is still hard to determine, whether the objective of the Georgian attack was a "short and victorious war" or simply a demonstration of power; yet already it is beyond doubt that the war will be neither short nor victorious. (*The open war turned out relatively short, after all; ABB*) Possibly, the military leaders of Georgia thought they already had enough allies in the Western camp in order to help more than just symbolically in securing "the country's integrity"; or possibly they had calculated that, in the end, Russia would not be ready to risk a direct war for the sake of a small, poor province. Those estimations were, obviously, mistaken, as can even now be seen in the triumph of Russian reactionaries from the pro-Kremlin fraction to the ultra-rights that had not long ago beaten up and killed Ossetians in Moscow and other cities because of "non-Slavonic descent". Irrespective of the results of the war, the Russian militarists, nationalists, fascists and rulers are already among the winners.

And the peaceful people in South Ossetia and Georgia have already lost.

The sources of the conflict in South Ossetia can be found in the chaotic break-up of the Soviet Union, and it is already impossible to determine who actually started inter-ethnic discord. Here and there the Soviet special serv-

ices were responsible, thus trying to keep the empire together by making it seem the "lesser evil" compared to the bloodthirsty nationalists of all different kinds. Refugees from South Ossetia and Abkhazia up to this day are living in a desper-

ate situation, when we think they have the right to return home, but, on the other hand, we hardly doubt that the Georgian government will deliberately not allow their economic situation to improve.

But when mistrust and enmity have already taken their firm place (who specifically started does not matter for anyone anymore), a solution lies not in seeking out who is guilty, but in the search for alternatives. And alternatives should not be sought in the model of "nation-states", which is doomed to failure in Caucasia, where different nationalities have always been living heterogeneously mixed. Founding homoge-

neous national states inevitably results in "ethnic cleansings", as evidenced as well in Georgia as in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. And really, Abkhazia as well as South Ossetia have long ago abandoned the initial, the idealistic nationalism. They both have, as a matter of fact, become Russian satellites, as they counted Russia the "lesser evil" compared to Georgia... That way, they themselves turned their "fight for national liberation" into a usual geopolitical intrigue. And the actions of Russia in the last time (handing out passports in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, enlargement of the "peace-making forces", which were, actually, never about to "make peace") show, that the authorities of the Russian Federation also intended to heat up the conflict because time went against them: Georgia's military power grew by the year, the moment of the country's admission to the NATO was drawing nearer and nearer. That means, for the Russian authorities now was about the last chance to solve the conflict by military means, and thus now they rejoice to get such a chance.

The nationalist, statist ideology of both sides is guilty in the first place, which renders a peaceful living-together of various peoples impossible by principle. What's more, in a Caucasian context nationalism has always been

connected to Mafia type capitalism because ethnic cleansings allowed for the powerful elites of both sides to enrich themselves by robbery. For the



ordinary dwellers in the region on the other hand, nationalism does not hold any advantages. The new war has again taken libertarian internationalists by surprise. Again we missed the signs of escalation, and the blood-thirsty rulers had a great advantage before us in the field of information. Anyway, we need to start an informational counter-offensive, start a series of publications in the blogosphere,

organize anti-war actions, and distribute leaflets throughout all the country. Without a doubt, people sharing our ideas are already acting in Georgia, and every day they are getting more. We must not keep silent - regardless of the results of the new war, sooner or later nationalism and militarism will kill us all, if we will not stop them!

No War between Peoples, No Peace between Classes!

*Collective of editors of
autonom.org (Autonomous
Action)*

NO to the New Caucasian War!

The eruption of military actions between Georgia and South Ossetia threatens to develop into a large-scale war between Georgia supported by NATO on the one hand, and the Russian state on the other. Thousands of people have been killed and injured, mostly peaceful inhabitants of the regions. Whole cities and settlements have been wiped out. The society has been flooded with muddy streams of nationalistic and chauvinistic hysteria.

As in all conflicts between states there are no righteous ones in the new Caucasian war, there are only the guilty. The coals which have been fanned for years have finally caused a military fire.

The Saakashvili regime in Georgia keeps two thirds of the population in poverty. The greater the discontent of the society is, the stronger the desire is to find a way out from the deadlock. A "small victorious war" might write-off everything that has happened.

The government of Russia is full of determination to keep the hegemony in the Caucasus. Today they pretend to be the defender of the weak but their hypocrisy is abundantly clear: in fact Saakashvili repeats what the Putinist soldiery did in Chechnya 9 years ago.

The ruling circles of both Ossetias and Abkhazia, aspire to strengthen their role of exclusive allies of Russia in the region. At the same time they aspire to rally the impoverished pop-

ulation around the tested torch of the "national idea" and "rescuing the people".

On the other hand, the leaders of the USA, the European states and the NATO wish to weaken the influence of their Russian rivals in the Caucasus as much as possible to provide the control over fuel resources and their transport. Thus, we have become witnesses and victims of the next coil of the world opposition in the struggle for power, oil and gas.

This fight does not bring anything to working people - Georgians, Ossets, Abkhazians or Russians - anything except for blood, tears, incalculable disasters and deprivation. We want to state our deep sympathy for the friends and relatives of the victims, for the people which have been left without a roof over their head and without any means of subsistence as a result of this war.

We shouldn't fall under the influence of nationalist demagoguery which demands unity with "our" government, flying the flag of "protecting the

homeland". The main enemy of the common people are not the poor brothers and sisters on the other side of the border or of other nationality. Their enemies are the rulers and bosses of all kinds, presidents and ministers, businessmen and generals - those who generate wars for the sake of multiplying power and riches. We call on the working people in Russia, Ossetias, Abkhazia and Georgia to reject the bait of nationalism and patriotism and to turn their anger on rulers and the rich on both sides of the border.

Russian, Georgian, Ossetic and Abkhazian soldiers! Do not obey the orders of your commanders! Turn your weapons against those who have sent you to war! Do not shoot the soldiers of your "opponent" - fraternize with them: a bayonet in the ground!

Working people in the rear! Sabotage military efforts, leave to go to meetings and demonstrations against the war, organize yourselves and strike against it!

No to the War and to its Organizers - the Rulers and Rich Men!

Yes to the Solidarity of Working People across Borders and Front Lines!

*Federation of Education,
Science and Technical
Workers, CRAS-IWA*



Free/Alternative Media in Capitalist Society

Ten Years of Renewed A-kontra: Last Survivor of Anarchist Press

Anarchist magazine A-kontra is the oldest and in present time the only regular anarchist magazine in Czech and Slovakia. Originally it had been published since 1991-1995, then in 1998 it was renewed by a group of mostly young activist and one original editor and it has been published regularly since that. A-kontra evolved a lot since 1999 and since it is healthy and working till these days, I suppose it might work as an inspiration for people in other wild-east countries as well.

Originally it has been published under the sub-title of "news of alternative activities" and its main purpose was to inform about ongoing struggles of activities in regions as well as in Prague. It meant that a lot of content consisted of local news and communiqués of local groups. But since its second beginning, a lot of attention was also focused on theory and/or history of anarchism.

Before the IMF/World bank summit in Prague a majority of attention was focused on publishing information both on IMF and World Bank itself (two essays of Michael Chossudovski were published among other content) as well about protest activities. And it is obvious that the issue published after the actual summit was wholly committed to informing about protests and analysis of events.

Since then the content has been slowly changing more towards history, theory and commenting the current situation in general, as the anarchist movement itself started to vanishing, probably partly as a result of exhaustion after the IMF/World bank meeting preparations. Of course it still serves as a voice of anarchist movement and inform about its action, but local news almost disappeared with vanishing of anarchist movement itself.

Outlook

In 1998, A-kontra has been published in its own secret printing machine. Quality of printing was shitty by average standard - some-

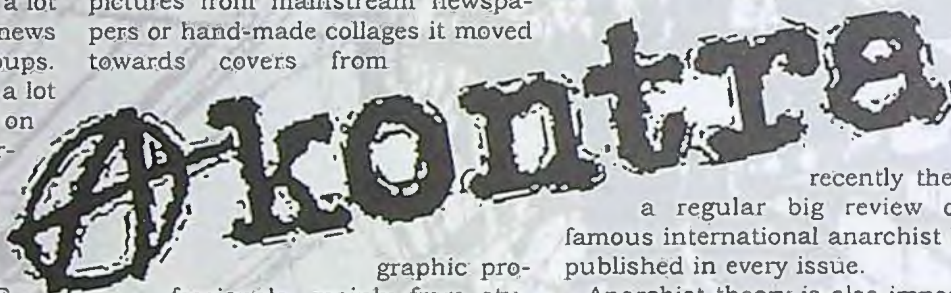
times it couldn't be read at all, content was missing time to time, paper was the cheapest available and you couldn't recognize what it is on the pictures at all. Later on it moved to professional printing press, so the quality improved drastically.

Graphical part also evolved a lot. It made major move from original cut-and-paste graphic towards a "professional" design. But even with a powerful combination of professional printing press and professional design, quality of printing vary from time to time. Sometimes images are unrecognizable, what should be black is gray etc.

A cover was subject to big evolution process. Since republishing of pictures from mainstream newspapers or hand-made collages it moved towards covers from

alternative subcultures such as hip-hop or tekmo. It still writes about or interview punk or hardcore bands, but only time to time and major, significant ones (one of the most popular issues was with interview with famous punk-rock band Anti-flag).

It also covers local and international news in every issue, either connected with a movement activities, social struggles or such issues like a war. In past, pages of A-kontra were filled with debates within anarchist movement, but nowadays it is rather occasional to have something like this. Last but not least it published reviews on books (not necessarily anarchist, but generally interesting for radicals) on every issue - most



recently there is a regular big review on a famous international anarchist book published in every issue. Anarchist theory is also important for A-kontra, publishing translation from famous authors (more or less contemporary ones) as well as original articles by members of editorial collective.

Periodicity

A-kontra have been published 3-6 times a year (currently three times a year). Besides that, several "special" issues were published, usually for handing out on (or sell for voluntary price) big demonstrations/street actions. Periodicity has been changing time to time, according to resources and time available. Editorial collective is not consisted of some kind of anarchist journalist, but rather people active in a movement itself, so the amount of time available change according to degree of their actual activities.

It also experimented with attachments, which covered a specific topic (such as Zapatistas) on a larger scale than just an article. But this practice was soon abandoned. General long-

Content

A-kontra works with a main topic system. Sometimes it happens that just one article is on the main topic, but usually it works with about three major articles on it. Main topic differs a lot, from "a nation" through "repression" to "islam" or "childbirth" (by the way, in a "good news" issue there was an article on "Abolishing the Borders from Below" project...). Besides a main topic there are always articles on various other topics. Anti-fascism is one of the main one being covered in every issue.

Second one is culture. A-kontra moved away from its original focus on punk scene (with interviews with obscure local punk bands), even though it still covers only "alterna-

Free/Alternative Media in Capitalist Society

term consensus within an editor collective is that articles shouldn't be longer than three pages, as the longer ones is difficult to read in a format of magazine. Usually, long articles have two pages. There is also a format of glossary in the magazine in the form of a tiny one-column wide part at the side of a page - used for publishing shorter news or commentaries.

Independence

Editorial collective of A-kontra is fully independent and not connected with any anarchist organization. It hasn't been always like that, anyway. Since its second beginning, the editorial collective was more or less closed to the Czechoslovak anarchist federation (CSAF), during brief period A-kontra was published as a part of CSAF activities. Anyway, after this brief period (as majority of editorial collective left the organization) A-kontra became fully independent.

During all "new" existence its pages were opened to the whole spectrum of anarchist movement. It published discussion or theoretical materials on anarcho-syndicalism, social-ecology, synthesis theory... But it also covered other inspirational stuff such as situationalism, anti-authoritarian Marxism or Chomsky-style leftism.

A-kontra is being distributed through a network of independent underground distributors, as well through an official channel. It means that A-kontra is officially registered as a periodical magazine. According to Czech law code it doesn't mean any specific obstacles besides general ones (official accounting etc.).

Anarchism in practice of A-kontra

Editorial collective works on anarchist principle as much as possible. All decisions are made on general consensus, even though this is difficult in practice as a core of the group is from Prague, while it has members from other parts of Czechia as well. There are general meetings from time to time to solve general questions like a main topic and function rotation (main areas that have to be covered are financial-care, distribution, coordination of actual issue, web-page maintaining, e-mails and letters answering, corrections in written articles).

Written articles are subject to two corrections: first to general ones (could be ideological, stylistic ones, content one in general) that are done at least by one editor (but all articles in this first phase are available to the whole editorial collective to comment). Second corrections are stylistic and language one only.

Graphic and pre-press is one of the biggest pain of A-kontra. Nowadays it is so difficult and complex thing that it requires a skilled person to do it - it means that rotation is not possible and as the amount of this person's time is limited, sometimes it means a long period of work before actual publishing.

No future?

Anarchist press pretty much depends on anarchist movement itself. Of course you could have a good quality journal on anarchism without any movement in the streets at all - but it all depends on why are you doing it.

Since the beginning, A-kontra has been in the center of actions. It's editorial collective was (and it still is) active in various groups, participated in organizing street actions etc. But as the movement got struck in the crisis, this element disappeared or at least decreased a lot. It led to a situation described by a former - and the only - editor of both period of A-kontra (no longer in the collective any more) like following: *"The core of our work was in action; magazine was rather helping item in effort to connect as many people as possible and link them to those actions [...] Today, A-kontra is a polymetrician revue of a good quality, but back then it stood in the center of activities and it was its engine to some extent"*

Editorial collective reflected that and executed a few actions on its own to encourage action again. First, it prepared several discussions, meetings and even some mini-speaking tours, some of them well-attended. Recently it organized a mini-tour of Ernesto Ladesma, European spoke-person for Zapatista movement. It also started mini-campaign against currently executed Czech neo-liberal reform, mainly in the form of small scaled actions like a sticker campaign or stencil actions.

If it has some effect we see in a near future... It is still question whether the magazine just reflects the state of a movement, or whether the state of the movement is at least partly caused by non-existence of such a magazine that would serve not only as an journal, but also as a activist platform. Either way, A-kontra is here and I hope it survive at least another ten years...

More info on magazine (in Czech language only): www.a-kontra.net



Free/Alternative Media in Capitalist Society

"artists are preventing youth from rebelling. artists are pacifying youth and keeping them in fields of cultural sterility"

"pure collaboration is not needed. any forms of criticism and cynicism are even welcome as long as they are done in the appropriate way in appropriate places"

Attention - Artists!

1. nowadays art as a vanguard form of cultural activity plays a dominant role in normalization and domestication of man. in close cooperation with education system and corporate capitalism contemporary art system is building sterility of tomorrow's society.

2. art system needs people to work for it. artists, curators and managers are top functionaries of producing and distributing of art and neoliberal world order is contracting authority. in societies with recent totalitarian past there is great lack of these functionaries as there is great lack of uninterrupted ideological history. we have seen how political activists become these functionaries. they are talking about spreading the ideas and bringing light to the masses. even when they are not telling lies, they are doing best service for authority.

3. radical artists are lubricating friction between establishment and boredom of young generations. art functionaries hurry to please the bosses by providing answers to critically charged youth. "everything is as it should be. we agree that it has some problems. maybe you can help to make this system better?". for this purpose bosses are paying especially well. pure collaboration is not needed. any forms of criticism and cynicism are even welcome as long as they are done in the appropriate way in appropriate places. other ways are outlawed and all places are becoming controlled.

4. sentinels of tomorrow's fenceless prisons will be

ones who is not falling for corporate bait today. today's rebels will become bureaucrats. there are no other choices. because choices are also provided by authorities.

5. this process has its intense forms in peripheral europe and with its peak in still totalitarian states of russia and belorus. liberal initiatives are very well traded as freedom fights, art performances sponsored by soros are done by critically charged youth. graffiti artists are just larvae phase of sell-out contemporary artists. and it is no secret.

6. as it is no secret that police forces can crush anyone who appears to be dangerous.

7. you can tell artists by their initiatives - organize exhibition/performance, publish in magazine, gain publicity, ensure their social status. they are afraid of illegalities, they are afraid of direct confrontation. they are fond of entertaining bosses, they are fond of recruiting politically charged youth. you can tell artists by their lack of imagination which they try to substitute by repeating something from past which they consider rebellious.

8. in our opinion contemporary art should be considered as a main mechanism of ensuring right development of sterile new world. its symptoms are evident already for a long time - absence of imagination, psychological obedience and philosophical infertility.

9. decentralized days of action for squats and autonomous spaces in

vilnius, lithuania can be viewed as example how contemporary art scene have sucked-in local critically charged youth. abandoned shed in park was used for photo exhibition. there where photos of squats taken by travelling youth, mostly art management students (mostly EGU - european humanitarian university - liberal college expelled from minsk, belorus), who see it as some novelty in design. there were people from local contemporary art center taking part too. activists are reporting of "good atmosphere and no cops" - as if they have done something illegal. but it was far more than legal - as vilnius is becoming european capital of culture in 2009, local government is really open, 'cause not a lot of things are going on in this peripheral part of europe, so bosses will grant all progressive cultural activities. meeting on next day was mix of performance of authoritarian collective which is managed by daddy-style radical artist who also runs website www.anarchija.it and advertising of local publishing company which presents itself as "revolutionary" but in truth is merely small scale business who will sell what is sellable - it have published various "revolutionary" writers as che guevara and limonov (leader of nbp) but mostly they are making their cash on pseudo-left fiction...

10. artists are preventing youth from rebelling. artists are pacifying youth and keeping them in fields of cultural sterility. in our opinion one who positions oneself as artist (no matter how revolutionary), one who mingles with those in power should be considered as counterrevolutionary agent. artists' activities should be questioned and attacked with no doubt. destroy lubricant artists!

pretspars dezcollective



Free/Alternative Media in Capitalist Society

State Control, Censorship and Technical Resistance

Maybe some of you have heard about censorship in Chinese state. It is also part of state control over media there to block some of the not so welcome content from the internet. For instance wikipedia and local indymedias and a lot of blogs (blogs are easy to write webpages which are used by various people worldwide to publish about their daily life) are not reachable via chinese servers. At least in germany a lot is talked about China in that case, but the same is happening in every other state more or less strict as well.

On a trip through Balkans, we recognised in Istanbul that youtube.com is not available. We asked our hosts, why it is so and the answer was that some clips on youtube made jokes about atatürk, the person who is all over the city (and probably all over the country) visible on monuments and pictures. The militaristic and very nationalistic turkish government seems not to accept media which is confronting or criticizing its national hero.

The turkish telecommunication company is just screening an error text if you try to open youtube. Probably there are also various blogs not available via turkish servers. Similar happened to indymedia istanbul recently in march 2008 by military court decision. As volunteers of www.istanbul.indymedia.org wrote on the page:

"Indymedia is being tried to be silenced by censorship, but it's just a try. The prosecutors of Turkish Republic have not yet learnt that the censorship in internet is technically impossi-

ble. Indymedia continues its broadcasting. You may access to Indymedia by various ways" and "The access to the site is still banned by Turkish Telecommunication Company's DNS servers".

The typical thing about this ban against a webpage is the point of access the government and other state institutions can use against (political) unwanted media. It is not possible to ban a webpage completely. You can just cut off some of the connections between the computers where there is control possible. If you connect in Istanbul to the internet, you have to use a Turkish server, which is a computer that is sending and receiving data via network-cables and other servers that makes the web functioning. But the national states have not control on all servers in all regions of the world.

Indymedia collectives are using this already for years by putting the indymedia pages on servers which are not located in the same countries as the content is coming from. Some years ago there was the case of an attack against indymedia italy, which is stored on servers which are located in united kingdom. So police had to arrange a raid in United Kingdom to get the content shut down which was unwanted by the italian state. At least it gets more difficult for authorities to shut down webpages this way.

The other way round it is functioning with the software TOR, which is available for different operating systems (linux,

mac, microsoft) and open source. The so called TOR-servers you are connecting to via the software are from a pool of voluntary servers, which lets you surf not only anonymous in the internet, but lets you also across censorship. For download and the details about the software, check www.torproject.org (available in different languages like English, Polish, Russian and Turkish)

Through TOR the webpage you want to visit receives a IP (internet-protocol) address, which is not the one of your computer, but one from the TOR-server systems. Because a lot of these servers are located in germany, usa and other countries, the pages you want to visit are no longer blocked. Of course the software helps not only anarchists and it is also supported by states and companies for their own business, but it is a useful technique we should participate in. So if you are interested to watch youtube or other pages which are not available in the country you are living, use the technical resistance!xxx



Free/Alternative Media in Capitalist Society

New Alternative Information Channel from Czechia - Indymedia

History

The first czech indymedia was created before IMF summit (Prague, 2000) and run also some time after. In fact we do not know people who were involved there. The idea of indymedia appeared again in 2006 in Prague, when I realized that mass-media has got incredible power to keep people in prejudices towards anarchist movement or create new (e.g. skinhead = nazi, squatter = drug addicted) and indymedia could be good "contra-power". Other reason was some kind of information block between movements in different countries.

Realization of creating indymedia collective and site was harder than I was expected. Finally I found some people who was interested to be in the beginning of imc. So we had the first meeting on September 2007 in Prague after tournament "Love football, hate racism". We shared our ideas of what we expected from indymedia and how we see imcs in other countries.

First problem was no experience and background. I met some people from imcs from eastern Europe during No Border camp in Uzhorod, but shared experience is not the real one - and that is what none from us do not have... We came over that and tried to not to be afraid:-) We had some more meetings where wrote together our mission statement and made some internal rules. After some time we created forum and paid domain indymedia.cz. Also want to thank Czechoslovak anarchist federation for technical support.

More Problems and Decisions

After we had domain and hosting, we had to decide about system. Also none of us is really technical. We decided to choose Samizdat and want to thank someone (do not want to write name) from Belarus imc for technical support with Samizdat and someone from indymedia Scotland for help with CSSs! Then we were somehow lost for longer time. Tested our site and discussed a lot of "small", but important decisions.

For example one was to not to call ourselves indymedia Praha. Even if everyone of us is somehow from Prague, we

Looking to the Future

I do not want to write here our mission statement, you can read it on our pages anyway. What we expected from ourselves and from people? We do not think that Czech indymedia will read a lot of people from the beginning and also do not expect hordes of people to publish there. Of course we would like to be "big site" and maybe also make some kind of newspaper, but we know that things are not easy and we will have to work hard on that. We also know that if people will not publish, site will be forgotten soon...

Unfortunately it does not look like we can write a lot of articles every week - so that is what we somehow expect from other people. We think there are a lot of topics, lot of injustice and overriden issues by mass-media in Czechia. We want to give a chance to people to write about those issues - in that is potential information power of indymedia...

Publishing is one thing, the second is that someone should read articles there too. In fact in Czechia is not a big problem to have informations about what happens in world around, there exist some pages which publish translated news from world such as web portal of CSAF or A-Kontra. But there is a real problem for non-czech speaking people without contacts to know about what happens in Czechia, except few czech mass-media pages which translate their articles to english. So that is the first priority for us as imc collective to translate articles. We hope that also YOU will be able to read alternative information from Czechia soon! In the end we want to sorry to everyone who does not speak english, but we are not able to translate articles to other languages...



want to be open and not to be "Prague-centric"... Other not so nice thing we have to deal with is less time and energy. But nowadays we are somehow almost prepared in test-run and wait until the most people will have more time and we are willing to go through process to become official independent media centre. With that should help us someone from imc Romania (thanx tool).

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Technical Platform for Anarchist Movement in Czechia - Palash

Word Palash means someone who is not reliable to do "common things in common life", does not like order and live somehow alternative life. But name was more question of fun, because we want to do things because they are fun for us and we want to do them, not because we are forced to do them! Almost three years ago in Krtkova kolona Infoshop in Prague, Palash kompjuťrs was created and shortly after that Palash production syndicate as technical platform for anarchist movement. Palash kompjuťrs & Palash production syndicate (Palash CAPS) is an anarchist alternative to common approach of state and corporations to information technology. Our principles are mainly mutual aid, equality and solidarity. Of course we are connected to czechoslovak anarchist movement on many levels, so our work is not only this or that. But mostly we focus to:

- * maintain computer network and internet connection in infocafé Krtkova kolona, maintain its web pages and help

to create its library

- * try to build from old unused (many times thrown away or not working) computers, printers or scanners, things which works - and then give them to some people or places, mainly inside anarchist movement

- * do presentations and workshops about GNU/Linux and generally computers, about internet security, cryptography and so on

- * make czech subtitles to interesting movies and documents, we produce benefit DVDs, music CDs and so on

- * write and translate interesting articles,

collections and try to support that way other anarchist activities such as Anarchist Black Cross

- * print and distribute anarchist materials

- * and of course we communicate to people who do similar activities and try to collaborate with them

Why do we do what we do? In the world of information technology, there are still more promotion of products of international corporations such as companies like Microsoft or Google. Also governments (their intelligence services) try to control streams of informations. So internet stops to be free and become to be controlled. A common user usually do not have access to information about how to protect against being controlled, neither he/she can use non-paid software with licence GPL or similar licence. We try to change this. We do not want states to control what one writes on internet and we do not want to pay for using (not only) communication tools. We offer an alternative - free internet or communication network such as CZFree, where we will use non-commercial applications created by people for people, not for profit.

Other thing is that we see in our anarchist movement willing to do things and want to support people who are going to do something. We do not want activities to finish only because of technical problems. We also know that for most activities it is essential to communicate. Lots of communication takes place in cyberspace of internet. We know that this way of communication is fast and useful, but also dangerous. We try to push people to use secure ways of internet communication to be safe that information cannot be used by nazi or state hackers against them or the anarchist movement.

You can contact us by e-mail: palash@palash.info or jabber: palash.caps@jabber.cz. We will really appreciate any collaboration with international comrades!

Free/Alternative Media in Capitalist Society

Something about Indyvideo and video-activism in Russia

Indyvideo - the Beginning

Once upon a time there were several people. They passed through street anarchist and art-actions, and were looking for themselves in the new computer reality.

There were a lot of thick anarchy-zines, but when internet appeared, paper samizdat 1 began to die. Those who had computers and internet became a digital elite. They could write to people from other countries, travel and develop themselves easier than others. And the others knew almost nothing and were in a big informational pit. New technologies were rare and expensive. So, there was a real need to change something.

Several anarchists (in future - Indyvideo) consciously came to video and computer technology. They made something like a "red professorate" - they successfully penetrated in the system of higher education and got access to computer classes of a university. It was time to study.

In 2002 video publication was new for everyone. Internet was very slow, and cameras were a really rare thing in the movement. If activists had a camera, they came to actions and used them. Everybody was happy and nobody covered their faces, the question of security appeared only in 2005. And then VHS-cassette as a rule with chaotic chronicle was being copied hundred times.

Besides common activists, there were TV-journalists who could put activist videos on their air. So, they usually tried to show on the first channel, where they worked, their actions and interviews with interesting people.

A settled group of video-activists was formed in 2003. They called themselves Indyvideo and focused on collaboration with Indymedia and on forms of free pub-

lication. Firstly, Indymedia appealed to them but later they refused to collaborate with Indyvideo and wanted them only to give videos. Indyvideo made their own project-site - but it was very hard to provide free video publication. A lot of money was

The main principle of Indyvideo is - No Manipulation. The simplest way of it is news format. Second principle - free video education for everyone who's willing, except fascists.

needed to make it, and nobody had it. And the technical question of free video publication was opened, too. It is more easy, technically, to make a free text publication.

Indyvideo began to make a collection of videos that different activist brought, and made a lot of their own materials. The main task of the group was to teach activists to make their own videos by themselves.

There is a very silly complaint from some activists to video-activists, that video-activists are friends, act with everyone in the movement, but act like professional journalists, that's why it's needed to treat video-activists as other journalists. It means: "Come to

our action, shoot it and publish, and we will watch it and be

very happy to see our faces there, but we will begin to build anarchy and realize, that we don't need journalists, and we won't call you". Indyvideo began to struggle with such treatment: began to give

people knowledge and share an experience with them. They gave people an opportunity to master technologies. They invited activists from different groups and taught them to work with video. People from Food Not Bombs, Critical Mass, antifascists and other activists passed training on Indyvideo base.

Foundations

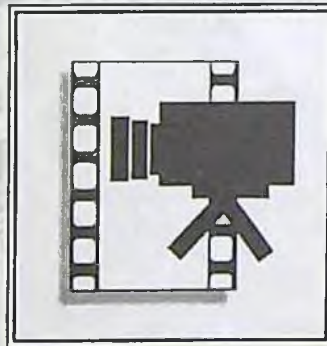
The Indyvideo group wanted to make something like TV-channel, where people can watch fresh news and then think about things that they saw. But not every video-activist works for developing the net or has a chance to do it. The regular group is small, and they practically control the net development.

Activism is a life philosophy. Some people are vegetarians, some boycott goods. A board of producers of video equipment we'd like to boycott also exists, but Indyvideo can't make its own equipment now.

The format of video-file must be open. Closed format is dangerous - you can't know, what is in its

code. Video can stop working, or some other shit can happen.

Indyvideo wants to offer an alternative to YouTube. YouTube makes an illusion of comfort, but it's an illusion of supermarket. There are capital and capitalist interests behind it. And next to an antifascist video, a fascist one can appear every moment. Besides, there is lots of nonsense there, and your mind can be littered up. That's why it's important to create an activist video-platform.



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The Indyvideo group all the time recommends people to take care of their security. If a person goes to an action, he or she should better do it consciously. If

you worry that somebody can see you, but go to give people leaflets, then don't walk near cameras, don't stand near a public speaker or a banner... Or put on sunglasses or scarf. It's

bad to criminalize pictures with black squares on faces. If a person has black square on face, it means that he is afraid of something – so he can be criminal or a cop in the viewer's mind. And scarves and sunglasses can become part of style. Indyvideo doesn't want to spoil information.

It's important to choose a point of view – you can be a passer-by or shoot from the inside.

No Manipulation principle means that Indyvideo doesn't try to make an action look more beautiful than it really was. The group doesn't use music, special effects, text explanations, angle shooting. In some zines people liked to colour the truth: write that there were more people on demonstration than there really were... It's impossible to do such things on video. It is for activists to show them, how they really look. Somebody asked a video-activist: "Why did you shoot us so badly?" And what can a video-activist do if

people REALLY look like that? Indyvideo shoot things as they are and strive for that. Effects don't make videos better.

Video is spreading an action in media-space. There's no need to mix text and visual information. A person takes more from a video than from text. And text

can be written near the video in the internet.

Today

Video-activism now is a balance between TV-news and tool of propaganda, publicity media. Some interpret activist video as a tool of propaganda only, to shoot and to kick everyone's ass, but next to professional works it looks really funny.

Serious people go into documentary filmmaking and stop shooting actions, because it becomes not interesting for them. They better shoot a film about how Coca-Cola takes water from small Columbian village, and then show the film to people from that village to let them know what happens with their water – and it's cool.

In 2004, Indyvideo activists made the "cinetrain" (kinopoezd) tour and visited 10 Russian cities. They were inspired by cinetrain of Alexander

Medvedkin, who directed the first cinetrain in the Soviet Union in 1931. Medvedkin's films were made on the principle "shoot today, show tomorrow". Such films are directed at people. People saw themselves on screen and changed their attitude to their life.

Now, Indyvideo continue to teach people. Also, the group translates foreign activist films, which can be shown as a tool of propaganda, and makes subtitles. The task is to move to open source, to make a platform and to let people publish their video by themselves.

It's bad, but international cooperation is very difficult. Activists from the West aren't interested in cooperation with activists from the East. They are polite, but there's no direct contact with them. The Western video-activist environment is much atomized.

It's hard to develop, when people can't reach modern levels of technology. There are lots of programmers in big corporations, and video-activist groups can't do the same things on such level.

Another problem is the spectacle (referring to Guy Debord (1968), *The Society of Spectacle*; ABB). All that you shoot will be incorporated by it to some extent. That's why it's important not to create nonsensical, spectacular forms. It's not interesting. It's called "riot porn".

There's a lot of questions, and a bit of answers. Visit indyvideo.org

Prekrasny May



1. Samizdat referred to a system in the former USSR and Eastern Europe by which books and magazines forbidden by the state were illegally printed by groups who opposed the state. Definition from Collins English Dictionary

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In the middle of September this year in Belarusian capital city Minsk a Zinefest took place – a gathering of publishers of independent cultural and political zines from the region. Unfortunately nobody from the editorial collective of ABB have managed to take part in that interesting event but we have thought about making the interview with the organisers of the festival. We asked them about independent - alternative - anarchist publishing in such country like Belarus. Here are the effects of our approach... **AbolishingBB**

"It was a short moment when people were working together against the capitalistic rules"

Interview about the Alternative Zine-Scene in Belarus on occasion of the ZineFest in the Capitol City of Minsk

ABB: Could you tell us something about the history of the anarchist press/zines in Belarus in the context of the Belarussian political reality?

First of all I want to underline that the Belarussian political reality hasn't been changed since 1994 – when Lukashenko came to power. Everything just goes more and more towards totalitarianism. The first zines in Belarus appeared in the end of the 90's but the years of the boom of the zine culture were the years 2001 – 2003. They were around 30 different zines in those times. Mostly they were telling about usual subjects for the anarchist/alternative environment, they were anti-capitalist, anti-massmedia etc. They were all very different from all the zines that you could get in the West. Those were times without internet, with hardly any information about the Western anarcho-punk culture. Thus people making these zines

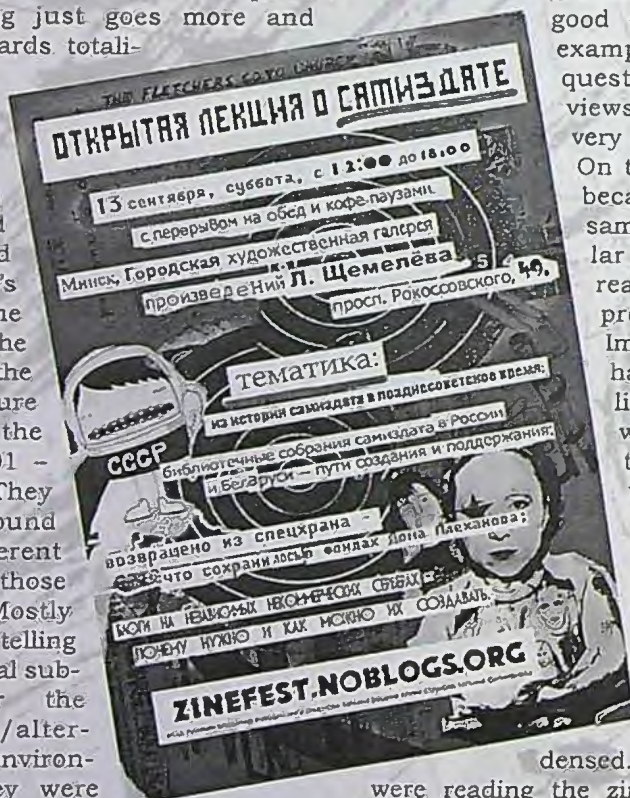
couldn't find infos how to make them or find any examples of the Western zines. All the zine-makers were also very young, around 17, so you can imagine how the zines looked like – they were usually reprinted versions of some other, for example some friend's, zine. The quality and the content were not very good – I mean, for example, that the questions in interviews were mostly very standard ones.

On the other hand, because of the same or very similar content, the readership was pretty big. Imagine that you have around 30 little zines, all writing about the same things; everywhere you can get only these zines. That has made the Belarussian scene very political and condensed. Many people

were reading the zines and they were all deeply believing in the ideas spread by the zines. They were all trying to live like this; everybody was active, trying to do something. The very little, and honestly, not very good zines have had a huge impact on our scene.

ABB: How would you describe the situation of the zines/independent press in Belarus nowadays? What is the readership? Does it have any influence on the reality?

At the moment there are not many zines – 5-7 punk ones and another 5-7 alternative ones (NGO thematics etc.) so the readership is very diverse. Among others, there is a grirl punk zine TRYZNAS KEFIRAS, a crust zine DEFECT IN INDUSTRY and SVODODA ILI SMERT – an anarchist theoretical zine. I personally take part in making of the new zine REBEL DESIRE. This is one of the biggest zine in the ex-USSR – I mean the number of pages and the print run. We have printed 1000 copies, 850 of which we have already sold. Many people were buying many copies for distributions in their cities. This is a journal about anarchist hardcore/punk actions. I can not say exactly who the readers are but I assume that around 60% of them are punks, around 30% the not punk part of the scene, around 10% are the people not belonging to the scene but having some alternative/libertarian opinions and around 1% of our readers are the police, the secret service and the nazi's. It is very difficult to make a professionally printed zine in Belarus. Normally the zines here are DIY made – some xerox etc. In printing-offices they are afraid to print such press. I brought a CD with our zine to one printing-office, the executive of the office read all of it and, of course, refused printing it. Luckily I managed to make a deal with the manager of the office and our zine



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could be printed when the executive was not there but it cost us 500 USD more.

Any influence on the reality? The same as all the other information spreading items. We can only hope that the more we sell the bigger impact it has. So far I have never heard about any revolution made by our zine :-).

ABB: What has the biggest influence on the nowadays situation and what will the future bring?

It is a very difficult question for me. You need to understand that any future here means Lukaszenko. Nobody knows who will take the power after him but probably it will be his son or somebody else very close to him. The political situation in Belarus will not change for many years, 10 minimum. I don't even think what will be after Lukaszenko. It has no sense right now. What has the biggest influence on the nowadays situation? You mean in Belarus or in the rest of the world? In Belarus nothing has a big influence on the political situation and in the rest of the world, I guess that you may know it better than I do :-).

ABB: Are there any other forms of spreading the independent information - television, radio, web-sites?

There are no official independent media. There are some opposition or a bit alternative newspapers but they

are all distributed underground. Their print run is not big - around 1000 copies. In the official newsagents you can buy only official, state-controlled papers. There used to be a very good, anarchist newspaper made by our friends - NAVINKI. They were officially registered, wide distributed and you could buy it everywhere. It was a kind of satire or comedy of manners about the Belarussian reality. It was banned by Lukaszenko and the people from the collective are still active making video projects. There are many independent websites but I can not tell you much about them because I don't read them often. There is one political hc/punk internet zine (www.375crew.org) and some other alternative music websites.

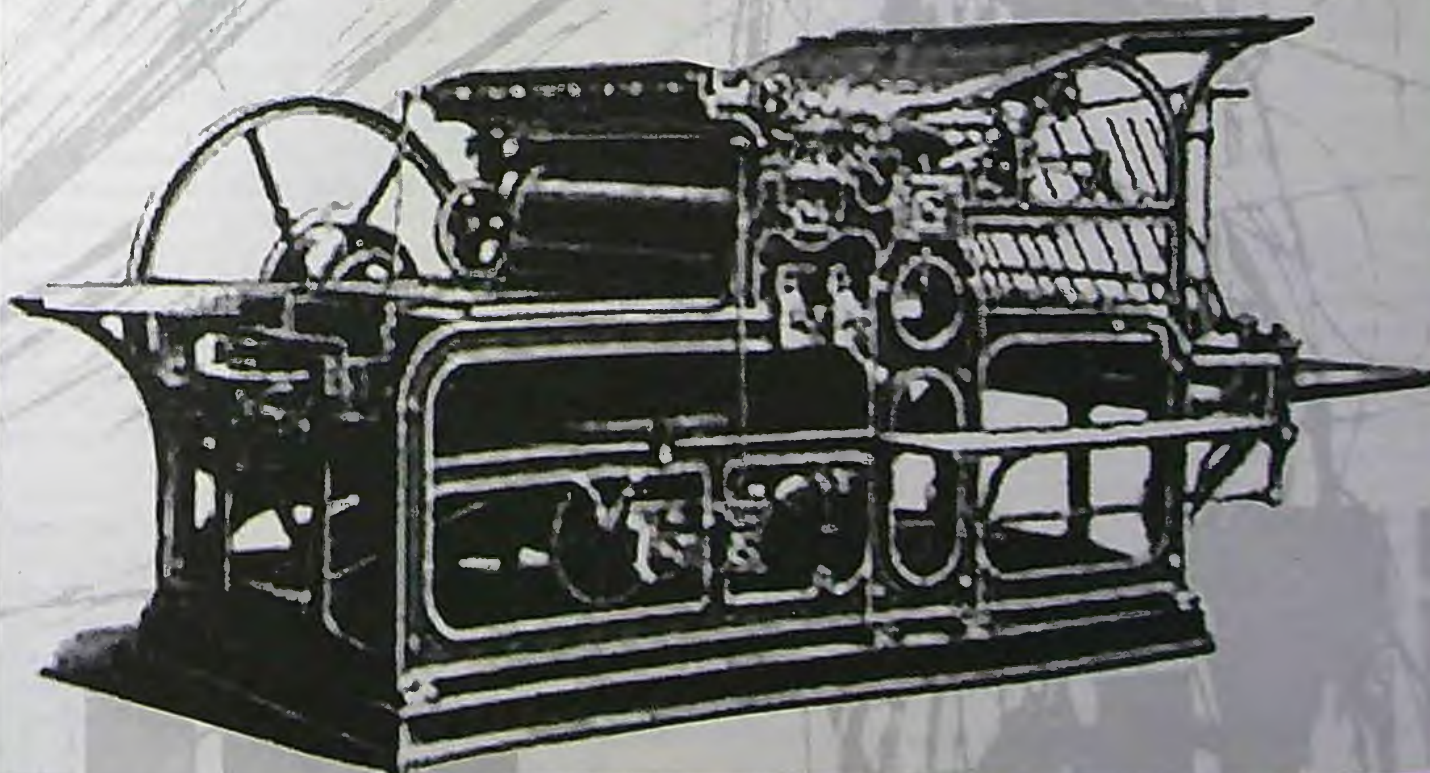
ABB: Quite recently there has been a zinefest in Minsk. Can you tell us something about the preparations and run of this event?

The zinefest took place last weekend in Minsk. There were many people there - from Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. Editing collectives of about 10-15 zines took part in the festival. They were making workshops and tutorials. The festival took place in the squat in Minsk. It's been existing already for 6 months. It is not big - just 2 floors. On the 1st floor there is a party hall and in the 2nd floor there are some rooms for meetings, video projection and a bar. Nobody is

living there, we organize there parties or meetings around 3 times per week. There are a couple of groups making vegan bar, renovations in the building, movie evenings, video projects and parties, of course. A lot of people, around 50, are coming for every event. There is a lot of new people who are active on the scene. We don't advertise the place, we don't make any concerts there or any posters about the things happening there. The place is known only to the people from the scene...I hope. You know what will happen if the police or the nazi find out about the squat. In the park beside the place of the fest we organized a free market - a really free market. Many people, around 100, brought many things they didn't need for the market. Anybody could take anything s/he needed for free. It was a short moment when people were working together against the capitalistic rules. Everything was accessible and common for all of the people who came. What we found very nice and of what we were proud was that a lot of people from the neighbourhood came to the free market.

ABB: Thank you very much for answering the questions, good luck with all your projects.

Thank you for the interview, that you have thought about us. All the best.



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As a part of our issue dedicated to the anarchist approaches towards the phenomenon of media we decided to give as well a voice to anarchist activists who are actively involved in mainstream media industry asking for the perspective from inside. Here you can read a short interview with a polish anarchist working since several years as a journalist for mainstream commercial publications, about his political and ideological dilemmas appearing because of that fact. *Interview by ABB*

"Penetration of the micro-cosmos of the mainstream media carries always the risk of getting sucked by the system and of tempering your original radicalism, while considering this space as a forbidden zone leads to even more domination of the rightwing and therefore their influence of shaping the reality"

Interview with Polish Anarchist Working as Journalist in Mainstream Publication

AbolishingBB: Since many years you are working as a journalist writing for various commercial mainstream publications. How does it happen that you decided to earn your money that way?

Actually it was coincidence. My good friend was at that time a chief of local section in one of polish tabloids and he knew that I am writing from time to time for anarchist publications. So he proposed me to work in his redaction. I was fighting with my thoughts for several days. On the one side it was first serious work offer I got since few years, on the other side I had very bad opinion about exactly this newspaper and about people working there... my friend was the only exception among them. Any decision seemed to me to be the wrong one. But finally after about two weeks I decided to take this work offer.

ABB: How good can you live from this work? What are your relations with the other people working there and what are specifics of people working for commercial publications?

I remember that during first month of working there I didn't talk to anybody except of that friend of mine, as I have considered the rest of people working there as venal pigs ready to write anything for the money. But after time, my "guide-friend through the world of the mainstream media" left this work, and me, if I wanted or

not, was forced to undertake the interactions with other persons there. And I was actually surprised that apart of some exceptions I am working with bunch of clever people. I have to mention at this place that this publication, however formally looking like a tabloid, actually its format was pretty far from the classical yellow press.

Then, one can not talk about some specific characteristics of the people working in media, I could maybe tell about some characteristic types of people. From the perspective of some years I can say that in media you have over-presence of cynical, ready to make a lot for their own success people, and mostly these are the ones which finally make the carriers.

ABB: Are you somehow separating from each other these two aspects of your life, running social-revolutionary activities and your profession, or are you rather seeking for interconnection of the both?

In certain sense in fact I am separating my wage related activity from the social activism, I am not boasting too much with my ideas in the workplace, but I definitely have my personal codex of behaviors, I set myself the limits which I would never cross. I need it just to be all right towards myself. But then, my social activities have in fact changed in certain way – even if I am still participating in organizing various actions, during

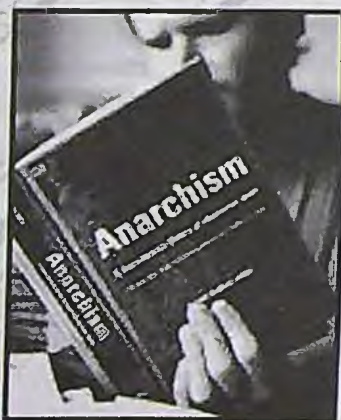
the demonstrations itself I am taking more of a role of observer.

Of course complete separation of these two worlds is not possible – in the work I was already many times using my activist contacts, always with knowledge and agreement of particular people. In the second publication I have worked I had already more freedom in choosing the issues and there I was managing to smuggle more themes and ideas relevant to what I believe and what I consider as socially relevant, however it was still far from what I would call as an anarchist agitation.

ABB: What do you think about the skills learnt during work for the mainstream media and what do you think about using their resources for the spreading of anarchist information?

In terms of using the knowledge and work-structure schemes typical for official media, everything can be reduced to the issue of finances. Not accidentally even gratis newspapers belong already to the media concerns. But it does not mean that better knowledge of functioning of mainstream media is useless, e.g. techniques of collecting the information or knowledge about the specific relations between journalists and the cops.

ABB: How do you deal with the contradictions appearing from the fact of active participation in mainstream media and anarchist ideas/processes of transformation social relations into ones free from commercial and authoritarian mediation?



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The main problem of polish media is their total control by the rightwing; this phenomenon is especially visible in the print-media dominated by people of very conservative ideas for which any alternatives to state and capitalism does not exist. The language which is used there to describe the reality is actually shaping this reality. Penetration of the micro-cosmos of the mainstream media carries always the risk of getting sucked by the system and of tempering your original radicalism, while considering this space as a forbidden zone leads to even more domination of the rightwing and therefore their influence of shaping the reality.

ABB: *Mainstream media as one of the most effective measures of maintaining the social status-quo and control over the social mood in your country - what are your reflections on that?*

It is true and that is why one of the possible ways of limiting this phenomenon is an attempt of transforming it from inside. However my mes-

sage to the movement is for sure not "get hired in this or other redaction" as it is as well just part of the strategy and can never be a popular movement. But consciousness towards functioning of the media will help to understand them better, and maybe even to defeat them one day, maybe even by use of their own weapons, e.g. through baring the methods of formation of information.

ABB: *How common is it that anarchists in Poland are working as journalists? How would you explain this fact?*

I don't think that the number of anarchists working in the mainstream media in Poland is especially high. I know just several such people. In my opinion the main

reasons are economical ones. It is actually not difficult to find the work in media industry, but the question is but: what kind of work? Most of people working for in that branch are being utilized, the most basic labour rights are being break, and the phenomenon of mobbing is extremely common. In most of the sectors of

media industry do not exist any syndicates. It is coming to such absurd situations that one of the biggest newspapers in Poland, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, is on its pages attacking with passion the firms which are impeding activities of the trade unions while at the same time is annoying its own employees who wanted create a syndicate.

ABB: *Is there any critical discussion going on around that issue within the anarchist movement in Poland?*

I am observing both sorts of approaches, the one which is very critical and one which accepts participation; however the first one is more popular. But the discussion as such is not being lead because after all "anarchists in the mainstream media" is not a massive phenomenon in here.

ABB: *Is there any point in which you would make a break with the compromises and quit your participation in it?*

Being honest, after several years of working in mainstream media, I am not dreaming about anything else than about taking a break of it, a break yet for the rest of my life.

ABB: *Thank you for your time.*



Cinetrain Search for the History of Video Activism

Today, video activism is an evident part of activism: after demonstrations video clips appear on the internet. Video activist collectives produce documental films and organise screenings... But video activism is not only an instrument of political struggle, but also a genre of modern documental cinematography.

Cinetrain is a self-educational project, which gathers video activists from different countries to search the sources of modern video activism in the history of documental cinematography. The aim is to find, watch and analyze little known films about experiments, protests against social injustice, radical views and conclusions, voices and opinions of individuals from the era when technologies and the interests of the

powerful imposed serious limits on the process of filmmaking. Video activist film is an approach, a call to act. This kind of films was shot always. We try to find them and show them to the activist community. We hope the analysis of the past motivates and helps modern video activists, who try to film under difficult circumstances, whose films today get prohibited, or can not break

through the wall of commercial and entertainment approaches towards documental cinematography.



The idea about a moving video-laboratory, which is in constant contact with the audience, was obtained from the history of soviet

documentary. In the 1930s, a train equipped with a movie laboratory and directed by Alexandr Medvedskin travelled in the Soviet Union

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shooting and screening films. In 2004, the Moscow-based video-collective Indyvideo restored this idea and carried out a video activists tour "Kinopoezd" (Cinetrain) to cities in Russia. In 2007, the project continued - Cinetrain travelled around Belarus. The main topics at the meetings and practical workshops during the Cinetrain tours were modern video- and media-activism, networking between antiauthoritarian projects, activists and collectives.

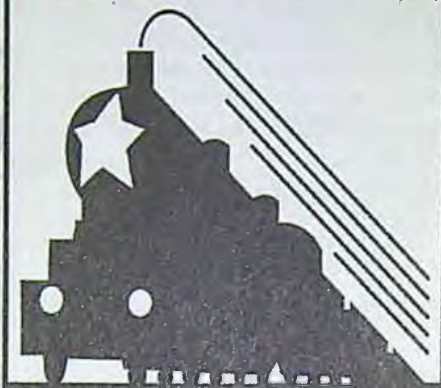
In summer 2009, we plan to cross East and West Europe in search of the history of video activism. Right now, an international collective of volunteers who share our mission and aims is developing. A Network of people from different countries is

beginning to collect materials and prepare video programs about the history of documental cinematography in different countries. In autumn 2009, a tour around European countries will take place.

The project is open for everyone, who is interested in the analysis of the history of documental cinematography from the activist point of view - Everyone, who is ready to participate in creating the programs and organizing the tour. If you got interested - contact us by e-mail, or through the web page!

More information:
cinetrain.org
info@cinetrain.org

КИНОПОЕЗД



CINETRAIN.ORG

"From Today, all EU Citizens are to be Tracked and Monitored like Common Criminals"

The essential infrastructure of the European grassroots movements is under threat of destruction both in the physical and the virtual space. What can be called the Squat Wars was fought in the streets of many cities in Western Europe, and this period of violence against the state won the squatting laws which enabled and inspired the construction of autonomous spaces throughout the continent. These spaces make it possible to live a good life a little less embedded in capitalism, but also make it possible to organise and resist that same capitalism. These buildings are the real estate, barracks and fortresses of the movement. A communications infrastructure is as necessary for organising and resistance as the physical spaces. But a communication infrastructure is not as easy to see as the physical spaces, and it took the authorities a long time to really understand the Internet, because it was so complicated and new. This was a historical opportunity for the grassroots movement to build a communication infrastructure that can coordinate a non-hierarchical but global movement. The wind turned with the war on terror, and beginning with Ungdomshuset, squats faced systematic repression all over Europe: changing legal status (reverting of the squat laws) and evictions after evictions. The Second

Squat War begins, we fight for our bases all over the continent. But it is only one part of the war on terror which is waged against social movements.

Our communications infrastructure is facing the biggest challenge in its history. Surveillance laws, agencies and technologies existed in great numbers before, but now we have to face a European-wide coordination of general communication surveillance that seeks to make all providers part of the spy system. The 2006/24/EC Directive of the European Union rules that all communication service providers should save the metadata generated by their users for 6-24 months, making the database available to authorities on request. In other words, the cops like to know who speaks to who, where, when, and how (with which tools). It is not about the content of your email or phone conversation, so it is more difficult to argue that it violates the (low) human rights standards upheld until recently. Of course, from this basic information it is quite easy to make an educated guess about what you are doing. It is easier and more effective to watch everybody than to go after chosen people. Data investigating on all the communication metadata of Europe can connect the dots between people and actions very efficiently, with some collateral damage.

We already had problems with the borders during the major mobilisations since Genoa, and recently during the anti-NATO mobilisation for Bucarest many specific individuals were denied access to Romania because they were singled out as troublemakers. In Genoa the convergence space was raided after the main action day, but in Bucarest it was raided before the first demonstrations in the style of a 'preemptive strike'. Beginning recently, police have started routinely using video cameras to film demonstrations and identify people. Having the Europol as a pan-European police agency and the data retention directive as a way of electronic surveillance that applies to all citizens without discrimination completes this system of repression to silent dissent even before it could find expression! Of course, the same logic is true in the small scale, with the city police versus the small local actions you are planning in your backyard. So before you call someone or send an email remember that the metadata of your communication act is saved by your service provider, available for at least half a year to the police. Not because you are a criminal but because you are sending or receiving through European



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providers!

How to oppose this logic? Firstly, *all people have to be aware* of the surveillance. The CCTV cameras on the street are easy to spot, but nobody sees the records are made about their emails and phone calls! So most people don't even know what is happening until the shit hits the fan. Also for the same reason, campaigning and education around communication topics is really hard. Still, a campaign reaching as many people as possible is necessary to raise attention to the issue, together with a 'how to' guide and training materials.

Secondly, *activists need to learn how to protect their privacy* as far as possible with the existing tools. If the security culture of the scene does not jump one level up, it will be very difficult to organise ourselves and do subversive actions! The directive has to be implemented in all EU countries by 2009. The authorities have new units, new tools and new strategies, so we need to update ourselves as well. There are already many radical server collectives who provide trusted email addresses, mailing lists and website hosting to people and groups who want to make sure that their communication tools are managed by activists committed to the cause. Don't trust Google to do no evil! You can find a list of recommended tools at the end of this article.

Thirdly, *technology collectives need more support* and they need to figure out how to deal with the new situation. For them the new law means that they keep files on people for the police, becoming part of the government surveillance system; or they go illegal, which is very difficult if you maintain a server that needs a good Internet connection. By the time this article is printed we will have finished an international meeting on this issue in Budapest, if you search for "data retention meeting budapest" (with the quotation marks) you will probably find the documentation. But the hackers can't do it all for you! If a squat is under threat of eviction people go on the street to defend it — but what will happen with the communication tools? We have to fight for our communication tools not only in cyberspace but on the streets and in our everyday lives.

maxigas@anargeek.net
Morze infoshop, Budapest,
2008 September 10.

Privacy Paranoia Package "How to Hide from the CCTVs in cyberspace?"

This is a shopping list and not a 'how to', check the Internet or your local political technology group for more information.

How to get a trusted email address? Radical tech collectives provide email addresses, lists and hosting for other activists. Their mission is to set up secure servers for the movement and they do what they can to protect your ass. Here are some:

- * autistici.org
- * nadir.org
- * so36.net
- * boum.org
- * ecn.org
- * squat.net

How to send anonymous email? Use anonymous remailer servers like mixmaster servers. Send a mail to mixmaster@remailer.privacy.at with the subject "remailer-help" (without quotes) for more info. This is trying to protect yourself from the data retention directive.

How to encrypt your email and identify yourself? Use public key cryptography like GPG (the GNU Privacy Guard) for encrypting your mail in a way that only the recipient can decrypt and signing it so she knows it was you who sent the message. This is trying to protect yourself from more active spying.

By writing a message, signing it, encrypting it and then sending it through an anonymous remailer you make a lot of trouble for anyone tracing you or trying to interfere in your communication. Doing this in as many cases as possible helps a lot, because you learn how to do it, the authorities have more data to process, your 'important' messages go more unnoticed and you make the practice of guarding one's privacy more commonplace, so it becomes less suspicious.

How to browse the web anonymously? Use onion routing with Tor. This is an application that you have to install on your computer. You can download an extension for the Firefox/Iceweasel browser and then you can switch it on with a click, and surf the web slowly but without making waves.

If you need/want a totally anonymous Internet you have to look at the **Freenet Project**, which is a 'darknet': a completely separate network that runs on the top of the Internet architecture. Freenet's goal is to provide the most anonymous service possible, which means that its engineers make no compromise between speed/usability and privacy/security. It is radical technology that provides many functions such as browsing, website hosting, forums, lists and messaging.

But even if you use the above methods there can be programmes running on your computer that record and report your keystrokes to the authorities.

How to protect your data? You can use GPG to encrypt important files, and if you install a free operating system like GNU/Linux (we recommend Debian), you can choose to encrypt your hard drive during the installation process. By using a free operating system with free software you can be more sure that your computer is not doing something nasty, and be free from spyware and viruses.

But even if your computer is a fortress in its own right you have to watch your back because somebody might be standing behind you!

:P



"Sometimes even an encouraging word is enough to make you feel better and continue the fight. When we are desperate the only thing that helps us to not give up is to know that we are not alone, that there are other people like us around the world fighting for a better life"

Anarchy in Bulgaria

A Bulgarian organizer and 'zine publisher describes current anarchist projects in his country, discussing how "Really Really Free Markets" work in an eastern European context and addressing the local relevance of CrimethInc. texts from the United States. Contacts are included for those hoping to connect with anarchists between Sofia and the Black Sea.

Describe your group: how many people are involved, how long have you been active, how do you make decisions together? What projects have you been involved in?

I am part of 2 groups. The one is called **"Anarchosaprotiva"** (AnarchoResistance). It is based in Sofia and now we are something like 6-10 people. The group has been active since 2001. I joined this in 2004. We have a meeting every week. We don't have any particular scheme to talk and make decisions. It's more like a friendly conversation and when we have ideas to do some action all of us should agree and get consensus about the thing, but everyone is free to do whatever he/she wants outside of the group. The group used to publish a monthly leaflet called **"Anarchosaprotiva"** as part of the Bulgarian anarchist newspaper **"Svobodna Misl"** (Free Thought). Now there are a lot of changes in the newspaper which is published by **FAB** (Federation of the Anarchists in Bulgaria) and this supplement is stopped being published in the newspaper. The group has done a lot of small protests actions against the militarization and the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. We and our Greek friends from **Anti-Authoritarian Movement Thessaloniki** organized a **No Border, Camp** in Bulgaria and **No Border Actions** in Greece to support the freedom of movement and the illegal immigrants jailed in illegal detention center in Venna (Greece). Some of us also have been part of the **Food Not Bombs** group here in Sofia which lasted for 6 months but now is dead. We have also done some creative anti-elections actions and took part in a lot of ecological protests. We put out some anarchist leaflets and distribute them during protests, concerts and at some video screenings that we organize. This year we also organized 2 times a **Free Festival (Really Really Free Market)**.

I am also part of another group based in Razgrad. It's not an official group. We are just a bunch of friends

that do some small local actions. We are 5-6 people. The best thing is that we have started organizing this **Free Festival** since last year. Now a lot of people are enthusiastic by this idea of free sharing. We are very happy that we opened an **Infocenter** in Razgrad. It is open once a week for a couple of hours. We are a little dependent on the owners of the building. It is some school center project but the people running this place are very nice and gave us 1 big room to put literature and movies and we organize video screenings, presentation and music concerts there. My other side project is **Katarzis** zine. I started doing it 2 years ago inspired by **CrimethInc**. I translated some texts and then got the idea to put them together, so this is how everything started. Now some people have started to help me. We write news about actions in Bulgaria, interview anarchist bands and write some of our texts.



Which anarchist communities outside Bulgaria do you have the most interactions with and influence from? Greece, the US, Turkey, other places?

Maybe the most interactions we had with **Anti-Authoritarian Movement** from Thessaloniki (Greece), but we also have connections with a lot of anarchist groups around Europe. Now we get in touch with **People's Global Action** network and will try to organize local Balkan network amongst the activist communities to share information, ideas, to support each other and to do some international action together. We have been influenced by the anarchist communities all around the world, but for most of us the biggest influence is

the **CrimethInc** collective.

How many of the projects you carry out in Bulgaria are based on formats (such as the Really Really Free Market) that you have imported from other contexts, and how have you adjusted them to fit the context in Bulgaria?

We have started with 2 projects based on such "formats" and one is now dead. Some of us were part of a **Food Not Bombs** group in Sofia. The idea fitted for the context in Sofia, because it is big and developed city following the western pattern. Bulgaria is also part of NATO and spent a lot of money on military actions and supports the war in Iraq and Afghanistan so it was good idea to do such kind of actions. There are also a lot of homeless people in Sofia and we decided to help them in some way and to distribute antimilitaristic and vegetarian propaganda at the same time. We were collecting food from 2 big markets and from a couple of restaurants and bakeries. We managed to build good infrastructure and we did actions every Sunday for near six months, but then the summer came and most of the people hit the road and when the autumn came we were very few left, organized 3 more actions and then everything died. The other project based on such a "format" is this

Free Festival we have started doing since last autumn. We have heard about this initiative in the USA and thought this was great idea and could be started here in Bulgaria. I think this is a universal model and could be put into action everywhere all around the world. In some countries there is this consuming way of life and the people could share the things they don't need instead of throwing them; in other countries which are undeveloped there isn't an excess of such kinds of goods, but the people could share other things like food, skills, songs, any kind of art, etc.... I think this is one of the best examples of what anarchy in practice is.

In what ways is it different to hold a Really Really Free Market in Razgrad or Sofia than it is to hold one in the USA?

I think there isn't a big difference. Maybe the only difference is the living standard of the people. So while you could find a stereo system or a computer at a USA Really Really Free Market, this is almost impossible at a Bulgarian Really Really Free Market. The people here share mostly old clothes, shoes, books, music CDs, and toys. We try not to limit the event to be only a free market for products, but as a free zone where everyone is stimulated to take part, to play, to dance, to live a free life. And the good of this event is that everyone contributes to it. We only give the idea and set the date about it and the people come and do it.

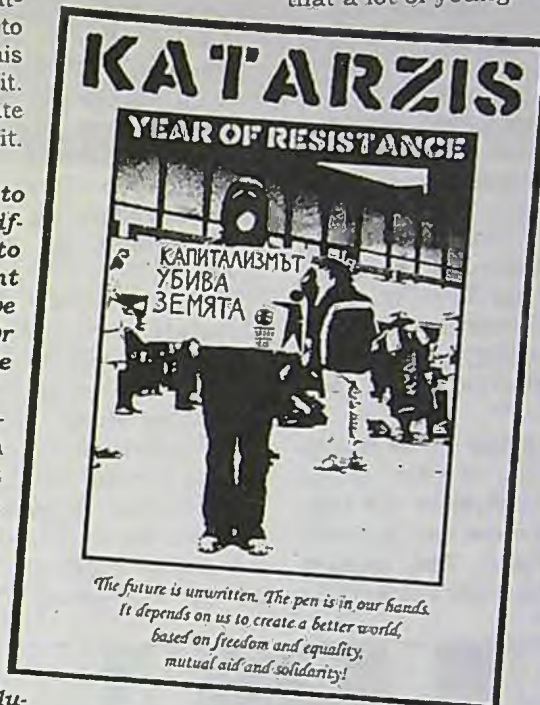
Do you feel the public response to Really Really Free Markets is different in countries that used to have a "communist" government than it is in countries that have always been openly capitalist? Or is the relation to property the same?

I don't think that there is big difference in the public response. Bulgaria was under "communist" government for 40 years and for the last 17 years of "democracy" have opened the door to unrestrained capitalism. So most of the people in Bulgaria have started to behave like the others in the Western world.

You mentioned taking some influence from CrimethInc. In the United States, some people criticize CrimethInc. by saying that the ideas associated with it are only relevant to middle class people in wealthy countries, that poor people outside the USA can have no use for them. Looking at this question from Bulgaria, what is your perspective on this critique? What have the responses been to the texts you've translated? What have people found useful and what has not been useful? How have you changed things to make them more useful, or decided which things to focus on when picking things to translate?

Maybe it's true that most of the CrimethInc. tactics are not relevant for poor countries. For example, dropping out in a way of quitting your job and make a living by dumpster diving is extremely hard and almost impossible in Bulgaria. I agree with the idea of not supporting the capitalist system at all but sometimes and especially if you are alone it's almost impossible to be out of this system and you need to work in order to survive. But I still think that if you live collectively with close-minded friends you could arrange your life in an alternative way. Most of the Roman (Gypsy) people in

Bulgaria are kind of drop outs and they are still alive and exist somehow. This critique on such kind of CrimethInc. tactics exists here, too. Even some anarchists from FAB (Federation of the Anarchists in Bulgaria) blame us that we are fake and pseudo anarchists following the "modern" Western anarchism that we are some kind of hippies and distract the attention from the main enemy which is "the state and the capital." So we are also being criticized and have some conflicts even in the anarchist circles. But on the other hand I see that a lot of young



people are interested in the projects we do. Most of the people like the zine we do, and I think that the most inspiring thing is this romantic anarchism. In the beginning the zine was only consisted of translations from Days of War, Nights of Love and Recipes for Disaster. Some of them were not useful for the situation in Bulgaria, but it's always nice to get some new ideas. We try to put these ideas into action and to change them to suit for the situation in Bulgaria.

Food Not Bombs was one of these projects. It's possible to do it in Sofia because it's a big city, but sometimes we were not able to collect enough food so we had to buy some stuff. We wanted to organize a Food Not Bombs group in city of Razgrad too, but it didn't happen. It's kind of impossible. We were looking for leftover food at the market but it's almost nothing for us. So we decided to try this Really, Really Free Market and it has suited perfectly for this small town. First—theidea is great and the people are likely to share, second—nothing interesting happens in Razgrad and event of this kind attracts a lot of attention, even the local media was interested and supported us. We were also looking for a place to squat and do an info-shop, but there are very

few abandoned houses, which in most of the cases are almost destroyed. So we got in touch with some institutional organization (a school center) and asked for a place. They liked the idea for an alternative info-center and gave us a hand. So we have this info-center now, we are a little dependent on the building owners and could not do whatever we want in there but for now this is the best project we have done.

What are the best ways anarchists in North America can support the projects of anarchists in the Balkans?

Sometimes even an encouraging word is enough to make you feel better and continue the fight. When we are desperate the only thing that helps us to not give up is to know that we are not alone, that there are other people like us around the world fighting for a better life. I am not sure what are the best ways anarchists in North America could support the anarchist projects in the Balkans. Maybe first we have to get in touch and get to know each other, to exchange information and ideas about the projects we do, to share books and other propaganda materials.

Please give a list of projects and groups in Bulgaria that could be useful to anarchists in the rest of the world, with contact information for each one.

Infocenter "Ecotopia" – this is an alternative information center based in Razgrad. It has a reading space and library with various anarchistic, environmental, anarchofeminist, animal rights, subcultural etc. materials. The place is open for video screenings, discussions, concerts, exhibitions, etc.... so anyone who is passing nearby get in touch: infocenter.ecotopia@gmail.com

Autonomous anti-authoritarian group "AnarhoSaprotiva" – this is an anarchist group based in Sofia. www.aresistance.net; aresistance@riseup.net

Katarzis zine – this is a zine with news from the local anarchist scene, some texts about everyday anarchism, environmentalism, animal rights, anarchofeminism, practical tips and interviews with music bands: katarzis@riseup.net

www.music.a-bg.net – this is an online zine focused on the DIY scene with a lot of information about actions, music, animal rights, practical tips, etc... sfti.diy@gmail.com

www.a-bg.net – this is an anarchist portal of FAB (Federation of the Anarchists in Bulgaria): fab.a-bg.org

Thanks so much!

In solidarity,
xITS0x



Labour Struggles



"Dismissed but still inconvenient"

In Solidarity with the Dismissed Postman

In July several actions took place in Poland and in other European countries. They were a reaction to the dismissal of Bartosz Kantorczyk - *Workers' Initiative* activist in the Polish Post Office.

On 16 July in the morning, a solidarity rally took place in front of the headquarters of Polish Post Office in Gdansk, where Bartosz worked. Around 30 post workers, *Workers Initiative* activists from Gdansk, anarchists, leftists and friends of Bartosz gathered. The dismissed worker also came there and he was wearing a t-shirt saying "Dismissed but still inconvenient". The other demonstrators held banners saying "Hands off Workers' Initiative Trade Union", "Stop repression for strikes!". There were shouting slogans "No exploitation at life's expense!", "Managers go to work for 1000 zlotys (300 euro)", etc.

There were also two protests in Warsaw. One organized by ZSP, *Polish Syndicalists' Union*, in front of the General Headquarters of Polish Post Office. In the rally at 7 a.m. there were also samba drummers and activists from LA - *Leftist Alternative* who took part. They handed out leaflets with information on the conditions of work in the post office and about Kantorczyk's case in particular. Another rally took place in the afternoon, few dozens of people from different organizations and trade unions took part in it.

In Poznan, around 30 activists of *Workers Initiative* and *Anarchist Federation* took part in the rally in front of the Post Office Local Management headquarters.

They held banners saying "Priority: the safety of postmen work", "Registered letter: bring Kantorczyk back to work".

In Cracow, around 30 people from WI (*Anarchist Federation*) and *Sierpień '80* Trade Union protested in front of the Post Office local headquarters. Also, in Szczecin, people from WI and ZSP protested. 10 people from *LaLuzza Collective* took part in a rally in Torun, they held a banner saying "Stop breaking workers' rights in the Polish Post Office". They handed out leaflets and gave a letter to the management to the Post Office offi-

cials complaining about Kantorczyk's case. Activists from the *Workshops of Local Activity* protested in the same cause in Opole. There were more similar actions in different towns in Poland, e.g. in Zielona Gora or in Rybnik.

In the capital city of Lithuania there was a solidarity rally in front of the Polish embassy. The activists climbed up the trees nearby and dropped a 10-meter-long banner saying "Solidarity with Kantorczyk". An activist from *Anarchija.lt Portal* presented the situation of Bartosz and also the information about Polish trade unions' activities. An activist from the Polish Organization of the New Left read a protest letter in two languages- Polish and Lithuanian and then delivered it to the ambassador's representative. They demanded

bringing Kantorczyk back to work. Police illegally took IDs from all the participants of the rally, saying that the demonstration was illegal.

On 22 July *Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)* organized a protest in London in front of the Polish embassy. They handed out hundreds of leaflets about workers' rights, one of the banners said (in

Polish): "Poland is violating workers' rights".

On the same day, WI sent another letter to the General Manager of the Post Office demanding negotiations about Kantorczyk's case. The company was also sued for the illegal dismissal and WI demands bringing him back to work.

Workers' Initiative will hold other protests in defence of Bartosz Kantorczyk, including demonstrations in front of Polish embassies in other European countries.



"This is a confrontation between a corporation and an ant, in my person, and the corporation is trying to use its most heavy artillery against this ant"

"I am calling all anarchists around the world for more reflection towards the issue of practical solidarity"

INTERVIEW WITH BARTEK KANTORCZYK FROM WORKERS' INITIATIVE -

**Initiator of Massive Wildcat Strike in Polish Post in 2006,
right now repressed and fired Anarchist Postman**

ABB: Hello. In winter 2006 we reported in *AbolishingBB* about the confrontation between the workers and the management in the Polish Post Office. In this confrontation you played a very important role, did you not? Tell us please what your situation right now is.

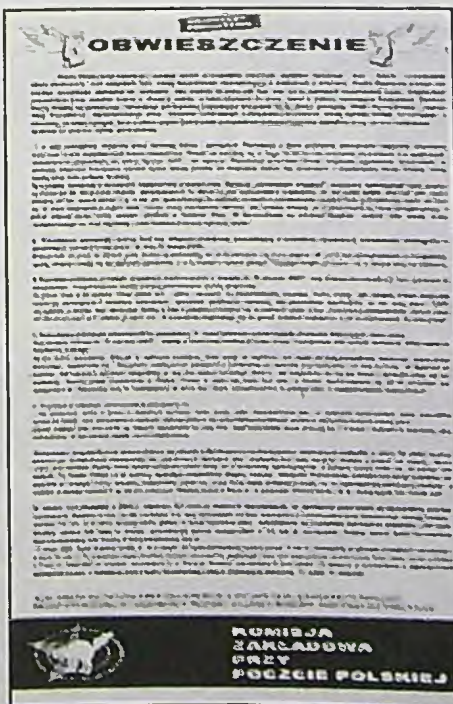
Hallo. It is always like that, nothing is starting by itself and somebody has to give an action start signal. Old but real true. In my case it was so, that I have in general a pretty rebellious character which pushes me to seek for justice in every space of life, not only in my one, but generally in society. And I feel as I was born with anarcho-syndicalist ideas already as when I read my first anarcho-syndicalistic publications I finally understood what my ideas have always been, I could define what I was doing and believing since very long time. Well, I became in fact the first element of the domino which tumbled down the Polish Post firm. I threw my bag with the letters in the corner of the room and many postmen around Poland decided to do it then as well. They decided then that this is the right moment to undertake the struggle for dignified work conditions. This was two years ago. And what is my situation now? Even if the strike finished after some weeks, I never became quiet because workers of Polish Post still didn't receive any respect and dignity. The struggle against the exploitation in this firm is still at the very beginning and management is lying that labour can be valued differently, even the same labour that there is not enough money for salaries (while 20 000 bureaucrats of Polish Post are having a very good time!) and telling us that if anybody don't like these circumstances they can be fired. Well at the moment I am unemployed without the right for subsidy. I was fired disciplinary because I was demanding safe work conditions for all postmen employed in the firm. Management believes that they can make differences in terms of safety-measures for postmen delivering retiring pensions and disability payments according to their own will (in Poland they are pro-

vided in most cases still directly to the doors and not through bank-accounts which is not the most secure work as you can imagine - ABB). At the same time our backs are loaded more and more heavy every year. And we work more and more not paid extra hours. No, I would

never agree on it! Saving the profits on the cost of health and life risk of the workers? This is unacceptable! However, other unions and responsible institutions are not protesting at all. They are even giving their signatures under regulations setting such conditions...

Well, so I am without work since June 2008. And it is hard time for me. The poverty looks in my eyes as I can not start another job as long as I am demanding compensation from the firm while the living costs are running. I have to pay my rent and I need to eat something to have still strength to fight back against this brutal management. On 9 October we will meet each other in front of the Labour Court (interview was made few days before the court day - ABB) where I am demanding re-employment and mentioned already compensation. But the process will most probably be very long. For now I am not sure how I will survive this long period. You know, this is a confrontation between a corporation and an "ant", in my person, and the corporation is trying to use its most heavy artillery against the "ant". They took two different lawyer offices to run this case and they are even trying to force me to cover their costs in case I will lose it! It seems like another "equal" confrontation! But I am not going to give up under any pressure, even if I have to stop eating. However

it is difficult to explain my desperation to my partner and her child. And, unfortunately, the mutual support



and solidarity of our movement is very limited and mostly exists in theoretical sphere. Well, I will go through it with hope in my heart.

ABB: Can you summarised what results brought your strike in 2006 which started so offensively as a wildcat strike and was taken over by bureaucrat-leaders from Solidarity trade union? The strike from which your struggle and your problems began...

How it often happens, also this time, the success has turned into defeat. The fact, the explosion of the very widespread wildcat strike in which several thousand postmen took active part, was successful in itself: grassroots' and illegal protest of brave workers who overcame their fear of disciplinary consequences. But without doubts we have to consider as a defeat the minor results of this act, especially if we compare to big expectations and the amount of one month long stress which all these people went through during the strike. Saying very delicately, it was selfishness from the side of the centrals of the big trade unions to sell people out in such a moment. I am blaming unions for active participation in suppressing the resistance and for the negative modification of people's right postulates. By the way, who the fuck agreed on all these crazy regulations we had to fight against now – exactly the big bureaucratic trade unions. They have signed all of that!

Well, finally, on 13.12.2006 union delegates had "negotiated" an agreement, which until today wasn't anyway put to the workers, and nobody from the sides which signed it is touching the case anymore. Bastards! The only effective results of our "little revolution" in the Polish Post in 2006 is that we do not need to deliver advertisements, however this only effects agglomerations bigger than 20 000 inhabitants. Another result was the minimal increase of the salaries of about 50-100zł brutto (15-30euro). But then a number of the signed agreements towards regulation of work-time and work-contracts were never realised.

ABB: From the perspective of two years which have passed since this confrontation, what have you and your work colleagues learned from this strike about conducting of struggle against the bosses?

Me, I ensured myself in not trusting in anything the big unions like "Solidarity" or OPZZ and general, not letting anybody else lead your own struggle in your name, especially not such as politicians and carrier-makers taking care only about their own interests. I was talking

loud about it already during the strike but people were not so far at the time and they took this risk, and later were very frustrated with the results of the "negotiations" and were leaving the firm one after another, or left these trade unions which cheated them at the last. The rest of the staff do not believe in any unions any more and most probably it will take a long time till they decide to undertake the struggle again...

ABB: How has the situation in the Polish Post developed in the last months?

Considering the work conditions and the salaries it is a never ending pain in the ass. Privatisation is supposed to be a medication against all and is since a long time being prepared. That is why the value of the enterprise is being systematically run down through consciously ignoring the clients, low quality and regularity of services. The bosses and their allies want to buy the firm for the lowest possible price and everything what is happening now is subordinate to this idea.

ABB: You are not the only member of Workers' Initiative that is facing repression right now. How is WI dealing with this intensifying offensive against its members? What outcomes in this confrontation do you see from today perspective?

There is a long list of repressed activists of Workers' Initiative what above all actually proves that WI is doing right work and the employers are simply starting to smell fear. They are trying to extinguish the sparks of freedom. They talk a lot of lies about us, sending cops to us, making us run from one court case to another, are trying to ignore our structures in various firms giving completely banal reasons. Finally, we are fired one after another, instead of dealing with problems, they deal with us. I have to admit that in fact we have serious problems right now to stand against this attack by employers on our members; it looks, especially financially, very bad. It comes to court cases, which have to be paid at first, already in situations where people are trying only to set a group of Workers' Initiative in the work place so before any actions and structure itself could be really set and therefore

first fees gathered, for activities and anti-repression costs. We have many sympathisers around Poland so we still hope that they can help us but, I will repeat here: even within the anarchist movement the acts of solidarity are far from what I would wish to experience. Or maybe there is still lack of understanding of the importance of what we are doing with WI now – building the



unity and upheaval potential of the exploited.

Right now, except of dealing with repression, WI is conducting a campaign against the rise in prices, and another one against the implementation of shitty work-contracts. At the same time we are resisting in many places the processes of privatisation and bringing the concepts of workers cooperatives as an alternative allowing workers to run their workplaces under their direct control. Workers' Initiative is as well involved in resistance with tenants who are organising more and more around the country.

If our ideas are spreading through all these activities, time will show, people will hopefully stand up one day. Therefore, however paradoxical it is, the worse the better, then closer to the liberation. The liberals in our country are helping a lot, as people slowly can not move any more backward, they have to start to move forward again soon. So they should push and repress us more...

ABB: During your speech which you recently gave on one gathering you said that "one is a syndicalist all around the clock, and not only at the work place". What do you meant with this?

You know, people are watching radical social activists, and, as such, once I understand the syndicalists, not only in the work place but also outside of it. So you need to be a human in every situation and do not put the words on the wind. In order to win the trust of the people for the ideas you want to spread among them, you need to work many years. You have to take yourself seriously and be honest towards yourself. Otherwise all your activity will lead nowhere. To destroy something is easy, to build something positive - very hard.

ABB: In upcoming weeks another general gathering of Workers' Initiative will take place. What important issues would you like to discuss there?

For me, however not from a private perspective, very important is the problem with the situation of those fired and left alone without means to live, and therefore to fight as well. I will propose activation of special fund for

that, so that membership fees would rise of 2 zł which would go directly to this specific solidarity reserve for those of us finding ourselves without a means to live, so we do not need to cry for help and taking dramatic decisions. Of course inspiration for this proposal is my own situation and I feel sorry that I didn't see this problem before but only when it touched me directly. But I am not the only one that didn't think about this at the right time.

ABB: Bartek, thank you a lot for your time and the interview. Do you want to add anything at the end?

Yes. On October 9 2008 I will defend myself in front of court, and this way I will defend the interests of all polish postmen. I am looking forward for giving this confrontation as much resonance as possible, abroad as well; I am looking forward for acts and actions of solidarity. I am calling all anarchists around the world for more reflection towards the issue of practical solidarity. I see in the movement apathy on the level of practical mutual support, however, I consider myself as well a

part of the problem. Are not too many of us spending too much money on alcohol or drugs instead of giving it directly to those which urgently need it? I visited recently Berlin where a benefit party took place to support me in my situation and I have seen so many people spending money for drinks and so less giving donations for which organisers have asked. So finally the benefit money was just a bit more as to cover the costs

to organise the benefit. I had bad feeling that people were so blind towards my situation. I was surprised that the people charge money for renting the room for benefit party. I think we should change our attitudes radically otherwise we are running the risk of being seen as a movement of hypocrites in the eyes of young people. Where are we going? Whats with our ideas? Maybe somebody now feels hurt but it is supposed to be constructive criticism. So think rather about the next once in need while me myself I will manage somehow, no problem. *The struggle continues!*



"Nobody wanted to work at the chocolate mixer machine" Bitter Death in a Chocolate Factory

In May 2008, Krzysztof Pruszewicz would have been 21. He was killed on April 16 in an industrial accident in the VOBRO Chocolate Factory in Brodnica, Poland.

Krzysztof had been working on the chocolate mixing vat for just 16 days. He fell into the machine and was crushed. Krzysztof's family, devastated by the accident, found no justice afterwards. Initially they did not want to publicize the incident for fear of being accused of libel; the management of the factory apparently convinced many that the accident was the result of worker carelessness. After much consideration, Krzysztof's sister wrote a heart-wrenching report which was published on polish CIA (Anarchist Information Centre) web-site. Below are the main details of the case.

The job in the chocolate factory was Krzysztof's first. Krzysztof had finished a vocational school as a dietician. In the small city of Brodnica it can be difficult to find a job in your profession; Krzysztof found a job in the Vobro chocolate factory. He started work on February 1 as an assistant on a three-month probationary period.

It is very odd indeed that during the less than three months Krzysztof worked in the factory, he went from being an assistant to a machine operator. In the report produced after his death, he is listed as a "brygadzysta", which is something like a supervisor.

From the beginning Krzysztof had complained to his family about lack of proper training. His induction lasted less than 20 minutes. He had less than 48 hours to learn to operate new machinery and had to do this while still working and meeting production norms. According to a police investigation, training did not last more than 8 hours.

Employees in the factory worked in 12-hour shifts.

If you didn't like these shifts, or couldn't produce the norm, you would find yourself out of a job. The person Krzysztof replaced was fired because he couldn't make the 1700 kg daily norm.

Nobody wanted to work at the chocolate mixer machine.

There should have been two workers at this machine, but since the factory didn't want to hire too many people, only one person had this job. Krzysztof complained that a second person was necessary to help at the machine. Besides working the machine, Krzysztof had to get the ingredients, add them and watch over the work of others. The machine often experienced technical problems.

Two people who had reported problems to the State

Labour Inspectorate were fired. As it turned out, a person in the Inspectorate is the brother of someone doing business with the firm. Reporting abuse in your company to the Inspectorate is supposed to be anonymous, but in the city of Brodnica, apparently the boss can find out who did it and make an example of those people.

At 6PM on April 15, Krzysztof started his 12-hour night shift at the factory. He had been feeling bad but couldn't get anybody to replace him. He was working at the mixing vat. Nobody knows exactly what happened.

He had been trying to get some chocolate out of the bottom of the machine. Some witnesses have told the family that there had been problems with the machine and that night some security devices had been shut off. One person admitted to the police he had shut them off.

At around 5AM the accident took place. There were no doctors, nurses or emergency medical workers at the factory. Krzysztof was being crushed in the machine and was screaming. He was dragged out bloody and mutilated but his co-workers tried to stop the bleeding and managed to resuscitate him. However, he could not be saved.

At around 7:30 the police showed up in the factory and at 8:30 the safety inspectors. Plenty of time to tamper with the scene of the accident. The morning shift, which started at 6AM, went straight to work as normal.

Krzysztof's family said that the police and the hospital will not allow them to view documents related to the case. The family feels that nobody in the town will help them get to the truth. What's worse is that the family has received anonymous phone calls from co-workers telling of other accidents at the factory but they cannot find anybody there willing to testify.

One last thing which can be said about the case: apparently, after the accident, the factory went ahead and produced its products from the chocolate in the vat where Krzysztof was killed. For weeks apparently some people in the factory had been pleading with them to take this chocolate out of circulation. There is no evidence



Krzysztof Pruszkiewicz with a Brother

that this was ever done.

Krzysztof's family would like to see an independent investigation done, but the accident scene was not investigated well, the police did not even make a list of all the workers at the factory that night and, worst of all, the workers are afraid to talk about what is really happening in the factory.

Lionbridge - Stop Repressing Trade Union Members!

In the past issues, we already presented the case of Jakub, a union organiser fired from the Lionbridge Corporation in Warsaw. An interview made by the slovakian group Priama Akcia in April 2008 was published in ABB#32.

On July 4, proceedings started in the Warsaw Labour Court in the case of Jakub G against Lionbridge Technologies. Just as a reminder, Jakub was fired in February 2008, shortly after becoming a representative of a newly-formed union in the Warsaw branch of that company.

No Arguments in Court

Lionbridge was represented by not only one, but two high-priced lawyers from the Warsaw office of a well-known international law firm. The courtroom was full with observers from no less than three trade unions, some left political groups, four mainstream newspapers, the independent media and Jakub's friends and supporters. Lionbridge claims that Jakub published an article on the internet using confidential information, that he used the company e-mail to transfer confidential data and that he acted to the detriment of the company.

Jakub prepared all the evidence to prove that the allegations were false and it was already submitted to the court. This included many source documents that had to be translated and notarized. Instead of dealing with these documents, which had been used by the company as the basis for their dismissal (the court documents referred to the article written on the Polish internet site "CIA"), the lawyers tried to submit an interview with Jakub made by the Slovakian group Priama Akcia as evidence of Jakub's "disloyalty to the company". The court, naturally, would not admit this evidence as the interview was made after Jakub was already out of the company and could not constitute grounds for dismissal.

The lawyers also claimed that the alleged confidential information was leaked not in the Polish version of the text, but in the English one and that Jakub was especially trying to withhold copies of the English versions of the text. This was quite amazing since both the dismissal letter and the court documents referred to the Polish version of the text and the only reason that everything was submitted in Polish certified translation was because that is the official language of the court and documents, as a rule, should be submitted that way. The head of Lionbridge told the court that he had to go on vacation and asked for the next hearing to be postponed one month.

False Claim with No Chance

The lawyers also made quite an interesting claim that the alleged "confidential information" which was leaked was information concerning the company's revenue. They claimed that this type of information is "strictly confidential, was never published anywhere and was known only to Lionbridge employees". This was the only "proof" of leaking confidential information offered in the court.

It is hard to judge whether the lawyers could be so astoundingly incompetent that they failed to check this or whether this was just a shameless attempt to introduce false arguments in the case solely to buy time. Information concerning the revenue of large public listed companies is generally public, especially in the United States where

financial reports of companies with more than a certain level of assets and shareholders must be filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission on a 10-K form. (Lionbridge is an American-based global company.) Revenue information is available not only to shareholders, but is published on the web pages of the Commission (www.secinfo.com). On Lionbridge's 10-K forms, published openly on the internet, anybody can find out the revenue of any of Lionbridge's local offices. Anybody can also just type in the words "Lionbridge revenue" to see that it was common practice for Lionbridge to release information about their revenue to the press. The revenue of the Polish office was also printed in the Polish press.

It is quite hard to believe that a professional lawyer would not check this information, even more so as I submitted a letter to the firm, which Lionbridge submitted to the case as evidence, giving all the sources of information for the article in question, "Lionbridge, Globalizing Low Wages". Among the sources I submitted were the sources of information on the company revenue. There is no chance that the false allegations of leaking confidential information for the article can stick.

This leaves the company with only one strategy: to try to convince the court that, for political reasons, they should be spared from having to reinstate their former employee.

The Lion's Red Herring

The court date was preceded by an international solidarity campaign on behalf of the unfairly dismissed unionist. Protest letters were sent and solidarity pickets took place in Slovakia, Portugal, France and Belgium. The attention drawn by these pickets unnerved the Polish management of the company. In an attempt to weaken sympathy with Jakub, two letters were sent by the management to workers of the Warsaw office, one of which was later leaked. The letters accuse the unionist of threatening the financial stability of the company because of the protests and warn workers that their job security could be on the line should the firm suffer because of the negative publicity.

Such logic is typically used in global corporations and this is not the first time such comments could be heard in the Polish office. Upon the creation of the union, Jakub was told essentially that unions undermine the competitiveness of the company. It was sometimes heard in the firm that the employees were all competing with Indian and Chinese workers and that acting out of line in any way could mean that their jobs would be quickly lost to those countries.

In a letter to the employees and later (in an interview with a journalist from Poland's leading newspaper), Jacek Straczynski, head of Lionbridge Poland, gave an emotional account of the inappropriateness of the protests, especially fixating on a stuffed toy lion used in Slovakia. He told the journalist that he was "being persecuted by the Communist International". (For some people, anybody who criticizes a corporation must be a communist.) The letters sent to the employees could well be considered red-baiting. They constantly speak of anarchists and anti-globalists and insinuate that these actions have nothing to do with

Labour Struggles - 2008

the welfare of the workers but with Jakub trying to make a career in the anti-globalist movement. (The fact that Jakub isn't an anti-globalist is another matter.) One letter implies that people with such political ideas cannot work in global companies which appears to be evidence of discrimination on political grounds - another violation of the Polish Labour Code.

Protests on the 4th of July

Protests in front of Lionbridge's Polish headquarters were seriously hampered by a downpour of torrential rain, but a good crowd of hardcore activists came anyway and protested in the storm. (Thanks to people from ZSP - Union of Syndicalists, WRS, IP - Workers Initiative, FA - Anarchist federation, LA - Leftist alternative, SMS, etc...) The management must have been thoroughly panicked after the visit of Priama Akcia to the Zilina office with a stuffed lion toy so long before we arrived, four vans of riot police appeared to protect the office from potential toy-carrying unionists.

There were some speeches and slogans. Besides that, ZSP (Union of Syndicalists) submitted a request for a translation job to the company. ZSP asked Lionbridge to translate an article about violations of workers' rights into all languages to be published on their website. (We don't think the firm will take the job.)

On the same day, solidarity actions were also held in Ireland, Copenhagen and in Madrid. (Huge thanks to everybody who took part in these actions or will take part in the ones planned for the future.) Leaflets were handed out with basic information about the case and about worker organizing.

Employee Reaction

In Ireland, employees were warned against talking to demonstrators or taking their leaflets. In Poland, the employees had been warned beforehand that the demo was going to take place during working hours and, of course, leaving during working hours could carry serious consequences. A few might have been genuinely frightened by the totally unnecessary police presence and the amount of people from security filming the demo, so only a few brave ones came out and talked to the rain-soaked protesters. Unfortunately, a couple of employees later sent nasty emails to Jakub about the inappropriate form of protest in Slovakia (concretely, the mistreatment of the stuffed toy), but for every mail like that, Jakub, myself and others have received dozens of letters of support from Lionbridge employees and contractors around the world, especially freelance translators who also complained that they are often paid very late.

As one can expect, there are others in Lionbridge who may not be so gung-ho on the corporation's practices and who were genuinely offended by the e-mail sent to employees suggesting that people with certain political views shouldn't be employed by the company. This does not seem to be limited to people with leftist or liberal leanings: one person who wrote to me a couple of times in fact seems to be a quite patriotic American who is just genuinely concerned about good jobs being outsourced around the globe. (This earned Lionbridge a place on CNN's Lou Dobb's "Exporting America" list of US firms sending jobs abroad.) That person wrote that he wishes us well on the fourth of July and saw the case as an attack on freedom of speech and political thought, which are values he hopes every American would fight to uphold.

Statement of Czechoslovakian Anarchist Federation:

Against the Reform by the Time-Unlimited General Strike

Part of a leaflet created by Czechoslovakian Anarchist Federation, on the occasion of strike, declared by the most of the Czech main labour unions against the government reforms

NOTE: The government reforms in Czech republic are hand in hand with orders and recommendations of monetary institutions and OECD. For common people it means another enormous increase of their expenses. The worst measures are for example: food consumer tax increase, introducing charges at doctor (everybody, even small children and pensioners, now have to pay during the visit of their doctor), raising the limit for retirement, decrease of parental allowances....

Members of the Czechoslovakian Anarchist Federation (CSAF) are fully supporting the strike announced on the 24th of June and any other protest actions against the government reforms.

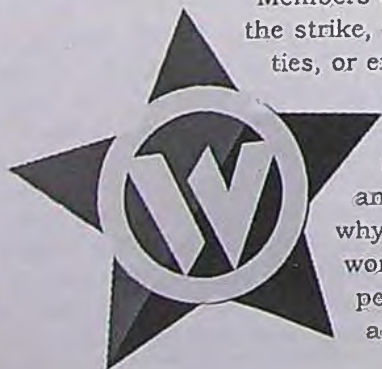
Members of CSAF are directly joining the strike, according to their possibilities, or expressing their solidarity by the other forms of protests. Also we, the anarchists, say NO to these anti-social reforms and that's why we call upon everybody - working people, unemployed people, students, pensioners and the other groups of

unprivileged people, to join the strike or express their solidarity with the strikes...

Don't allow ourselves to be separated; don't forget that our strength is in our unity and solidarity.

It is foolish to trust in political parties or supreme labour union leaders. Don't let them abuse us for their political or power ambition. Trust ourselves and our colleagues!

As the anarchists, we don't think that reforms can be stopped just by one-hour or one day-long strikes. The only way out, the only method, how to beat down the government and stop reforms, is time-unlimited general strike, which would be stopped only at that time, when government will withdraw and abolish their asocial reformatory plans and measures.



There are a lot of ways, how to join...

If you can't stop or quit your job or study for any reason, express your solidarity with the striking people, for example during your journey to work, or by hanging out the banner "I support the demands of the striking" in your workplace or window.

If you are unemployed, for example you can occupy and block the building of Bureau of labour.

Extend the ideas of self-organization, direct action and time-unlimited general strike.

Create your own posters, stickers, leaflets, street-art stencils and set out to the streets. There are offices of political parties in every big city. The forms of protest are various: symbolic lockout of these offices, blockades, verbal confrontation of the politicians, flying rotten fruit or sprayed walls of their offices...

The struggle doesn't end with one strike.

Reformist labour unions have no will to stop the recent government reforms. It is not possible to have a responsible part of the capitalist system and at the same time defend the interests of the workpeople.

History of social struggles has clearly shown us that negotiation with those, who have the power, is simply pointless. The government will withdraw and form annual reformative plans only at that time, when the time-unlimited general strike will take place. The strike, which will threaten profits of the lobbyist groups of employers. In fact, especially these groups have the eminent concern over realization of these reforms promoted by the government. At the same time, we will see what the labour unions seek to do - to defend the interests of the working people, or to maintain their soft jobs...

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The Strike is Over, What Next?**The Striking and the Strike-Breakers**

Both trade unionists and unorganised working people joined the strike. Some people didn't stop their work, however, they expressed their solidarity with the demands of the striking at least with posting banners in their workplace. The amount of people who joined the strike is considerable, no matter how the government tries to play this amount down.

However, in many places we could see the disunity of the working people. The reasons are various. It can be fear of losing job, career, or other kinds of pressure. In some cases, for example, the drivers of the city transport got lump-sum bonuses if they didn't join the strike.

We cannot neglect the fact, that after the Bolshevik regime in Czech Republic, there is not any tradition of striking and consciousness of solidarity among the working people.

In addition, mainstream medias in this country have always been directly or indirectly against the labour unions.

Considering all these facts, one million people in strike are good beyond expectations.

The Strike is Over, What Next?

The labour union leaders claimed the strike was successful. In amount of the people who joined the strike, it was certainly success in the conditions we described above.

But we surely cannot talk about any "win". The government politicians' keep, as expected, their arrogance and the hour-long strike leaves them underwhelmed. They ignore public opinion on the reform as well as on the U.S. radar base, which should be built here.

We can hope, this arrogance will raise "healthy" fury instead of resignation, which will be expressed through another strikes and protests.

Union leaders speak indistinctly about another resistance to the government reforms, though.

However, will they lead the working people into another strike or will they rather discourage the people from it?

The strike on the 24th of June would be successful only at that time, when another steps will follow, preferably the time-unlimited general strike, which the government will not be able to laugh at, anymore.

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The Anarchists also joined the Strike

CZECHOSLOVAK ANARCHIST FEDERATION (CSAF) has decided to support the strike.

There was an appeal to joining the strike on the website of CSAF.

The members of CSAF actively joined the strike, not only by the direct involvement.

They also notify of the anarchist perspective on the government reforms, which are one of the asocial displays of the capitalist system. A lot of leaflets and stickers have been printed.

Some members of CSAF elected the quiet support of the striking people by the several hours lasting rejection of their work. Those, who couldn't join the strike directly, supported the protests by dealing leaflets, pasting stickers or by street art.

One of the CSAF regional groups hung out the anarchist flag and banner "General strike against the reform!" on the bridge above the railway station.



In Romania the Strike Wave Continues

Europe's Eastern Gateway Blocked: Strike in the Docks of Constanta

In Romania the strike wave continues: on Thursday morning, 17th of July 2008, five hundred dock workers at the Agiea Sud terminal went on indefinite strike. The terminal belongs to the container port of Constanta, a town at the Romanian coast of the Black Sea. Their main demands: a wage increase of 700 RON (about 200 Euro), a bonus for seniority, extra-payment for over-time and a clear regulation of the working-time.

The first day of strike

At the main gate of the container port Constanta Agiea Sud a wind-torn leaflet announces an indefinite strike, starting at 7 am, 17th of July 2008. On the port premises no movements can be seen, the cranes remain silent and unused. The company has locked out the strikers. About 150 workers on picket-line have gathered at the gate, shouting slogans: "We work, and we want to be paid for it!", "Thieves, thieves" and "We won't be slaves in our own country!". The Constanta South Terminal is run by DP World, well equipped with modern facilities. 85 per cent of the total container turn-over of Romania's biggest port happens here. According to their own figures, last year the company made twelve Million Euros profit.

Five years ago, the terminal ran its first shift. When hired people were promised that the work would be done according to European standards and that soon (western-)European wages will be paid. To this day the latter has not happened. The port workers earn an equivalent to about 400 Euro per month. There was an increase: an increase in work pressure, in numbers of containers, which had to be shipped or unloaded per shift and an increase in over-time, which is still paid without any bonus payments.

The demand of 700 RON isn't that high if you take the current inflation in Romania into account. The price for (cooking and heating) gas has hiked by 20 per cent since the beginning of June 2008. The food prices are comparable to those discount supermarket like Aldi and Lidl in Western Europe. Many dockers had to take out loans in order to buy a car or a flat. (1) The inflation means it becomes increasingly difficult to pay the instalments demanded.

It is not only the wage issue which triggers the dock

workers' anger. One of their most important demands is the adherence to the standard working-time. The terminal runs on a 12/24-hours shift-scheme, which means that a single shift is twelve hours long, after that the worker has got a 24-hours break. After each fourth shift there is a break of 48 hours. The workers have to switch constantly between day- and night-shift. The management does not stick to this scheme, workers are often called to work on their day off; they are supposed to start work within an hour. They have to be available on their mobile phones at all times. If they don't answer the phone the management puts it as 'unmotivated attitude', meaning that in the 'cartea de munca', the employee's record book, the remark 'absent without valid excuse' will be entered. (2) After three of these 'unauthorised absences' you get the sack. The striking workers tell that due to being permanently 'on call' they are not able to make plans for their free time with their families. Or as a dock-er puts it straight: "The work fucks you up and you are not even paid properly for it".

There is a cheerful and lively atmosphere at the picket-line. The sun blasts down, there is no shade in front of the head office. In an hourly routine the strikers gather in order to shout their slogans and make some noise with horns and whistles. "The strike won't go on for too long, they have to fulfil our demands. We blockade the freight traffic of the whole country, even of some of the neighbouring countries. The big industrial areas depend on us!", states an older dock worker.

Suddenly an enormous chorus of car horns can be heard. On the other side of the terminal hundreds of lorries have queued up, waiting for their load. The strike has a heavy impact on the truck drivers, they are paid by kilometers, not by the hour. But most of them see the strike as a justifiable act, even though they have to return empty for today.

The strike is union lead. In the terminal two small unions are registered; both are affiliated to the FNSP -

the National Trade Union Congress for Dock Workers. During conversations with the dockers it becomes clear that it was not the unions who had called for a strike, but that the workers had put pressure on them. "Last year they negotiated and signed a contract without asking us, and the contract was shit. They are in process of negotiating for five months now, but this time we are watching them closely!" - "To walk out is the only way to enforce our demands."

For the following day at 3 pm the management of WP World has staged a new round of negotiations. There are lively debates amongst the workers, because the negotiations are supposed to take place in Hotel Ibis, which is in twelve kilometer distance from the picket-line. One of the strikers thinks that it was wrong to have given in to the managements' proposal for the venue. "We are hundreds of strikers here, they should come here and negotiate with



us. They have the space here to do that. Not behind our backs at some far away location".

At 7 pm, the night-shift takes over the picket-line. According to the workers the company wouldn't find any scabs anyway, because the qualified workers have all gone abroad.

The second day of strike

Five big container ships lie off the terminal, waiting for the dispute to be solved. DP World tries to send some of the cargo work to be done by the ports in Odessa, Ukraine

In the national television news there is hardly any information about the strike. Only a local channel broadcasted some news. But one of the dockers said convincingly: "It doesn't really bother us, if they don't report about us anyway. What is important is that here everything keeps being at stand-still. In the end the country will take notice of the blockade."

It's late afternoon. On the square in front of the main office 150 strikers have gathered again. Their faces display tense emotions.

The talks have failed. The management pretended to be unmoved and didn't change their initial offer even one tiny bit. They even threatened to withdraw their current offer of about 100 Euro wage increase. A union leader and member of the negotiation table - he himself a dock worker in the port - reports in details to his fellow workers: "At some point the management all left the table saying 'Right, we will meet again in front of the court. We will check whether the strike is legal at all. That's it for us now, we don't want to waste our time.' They said that they have made plans for the weekend, that they will take a trip to the delta of river Danube, go fishing." Many questions come up and long discussions start amongst the striking workers: what would be the result of a legal suspension of the strike, would the union pay strike money if the struggle carries on for a longer period of time? There isn't much hesitation about the main question: The strike will be continued. We don't give in! "Do you know what, guys, on Monday we will turn up and change our demands, as well. We will keep up the demand of a 700 hike, but not 700 RON, we talk about 700 Euro!"

While hundred thousands of holiday-makers lay around choc-a-bloc sunbathing on the beach of the Black Sea, only few kilometers away the strikers prepare for a longer struggle. The union head-organisation FNSP has announced a solidarity strike in the entire port of Constanta for Monday. (3)

The cranes are still silent. The lorries have returned. The ships are waiting.

Footnotes:

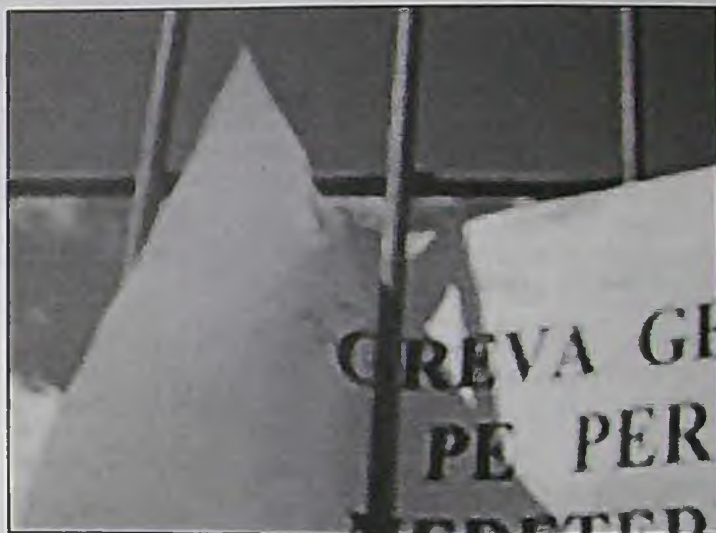
1. In Romania only few flats are rented out. The rents are very high. People who have been lucky own their home, house prices were low before 1989.
2. A kind of income tax form containing remarks about the employee's performance.
3. According to the Federatia Nationale a Sindicatelor Portuare (FNSP) the port of Constanta employs about 9,000 workers. In total, thirty unions are affiliated to the FNSP, representing 6,000 members.

The author of this article, Ana Cosel has been in Constanta and were able to talk to the workers.

"We've to work like horses!"

Filipina Textile Workers in Sibiu, Romania

Like many other companies in the Romanian textile and construction sectors, textiles firm Mondostar has had to struggle with a persistent labour shortage for several years. Amongst the local workers hardly anyone is willing to work for the low wages paid in the textile industries. Since three months ago Mondostar has employed 95 women from the Philippines in order to counteract the shrinking supply of labour. Hoping for a good job in Europe, the workers from the Philippines borrowed money while still in their home country. They needed the money in order to be able to pay the high fees of the recruitment agency in Manila. The agency recruited them for Mondostar, signing a contract which entitled the workers to a basic wage of US-Dollar 400 and 100 per cent extra for overtime. In fact the women were never paid this wage. The following report is based on conversations with some of the Filipina workers.



The labour shortage worsens

Only three years ago the Romanian company still employed about 1,500 local workers - male and female - manufacturing suits for export to Germany and Switzerland. Now there are only 400 local workers left. Most of these are older women whose wage is a contribution to the family income. Apart from them hardly anyone is willing to do factory work for a monthly wage of US-Dollar 250 (1). Young people move abroad or look for jobs in different sectors. Many former Mondostar employees have shifted to the automobile parts manufacturer Takata, producing air-bags. The newly opened green-field plant in the west of town offers higher wages and better working conditions (2). According to a union representative at Mondostar, the textiles company recently tried to hire more people from the countryside, but failed. People from the countryside engaged in subsistence farming are less dependent on a factory job. The company would have difficulties with their unmotivated attitude to work, a high rate of people on sick-leave, absenteeism and an ongoing high rate of staff turnover.

Mondostar still has many open orders, the machinery is ready for use, but the people are missing. On their search for productive workers and a way out of crisis the compa-

ny finally signed a contract with the *EASTWIND International Agency* in Manila, which recruited qualified women textile workers for them.

Namibia, Taiwan, Brunei ... Romania

At the end of May 2008 the Filipinas came to Sibiu. A precondition for their employment was work experience as seamstress. Each of them had to pay 120,000 Philippine Pesos (about US-Dollar 2,500) to the agency, for recruitment and the flight to eastern Europe. In order to be able to pay the money the women had to take out a bank loan or a mortgage secured on the property of relatives. The work contract signed in the Philippines entitled them to a basic wage of US-Dollar 400 and 100 per cent extra for overtime. Many of the women, aged 26 to 52, had already worked overseas as seamstresses in textile factories, e.g. in Namibia, Taiwan and Brunei. The women say it is common in the industry to work overtime and to be paid extra accordingly. According to their own calculation Mondostar would have to pay them US-Dollar 600 to 700 including overtime, after reductions for food and accommodation.

However after a short time the Filipina workers realised that the Romanian company would not stick to the contract. Quite the contrary, the company would try to extract the maximum work at lowest cost.

After arriving in Sibiu the women had to sign a second contract, which was written in Romanian and which apparently codified wage deductions and other details. During the first two months the women worked daily from 6:30 am till 6:00 pm, including Saturdays. At the end of the month the pay slip showed 570 RON (about US-Dollar 235). For the second month they were only paid the same amount. Each month US-Dollar 165 for food and accommodation was cut from the basic wage. Given a weekly working time of 60 hours, the pay for the overtime alone would have amounted to additional US-Dollar 400 - actually the overtime was not paid at all.

In the dormitory, which is situated right on the factory premises, eight women have to share a room. Breakfast and lunch are provided, but the women have to sort out dinner themselves. The canteen food is miserable. "Sometimes it's so bad that we'd rather not eat lunch at all". Inside the factory the women from the Philippines are seated separately from the local workers. Their forewomen

are Romanian. "They are always on our backs and force us to work harder. We have to work like horses!"

Open Letter: Indian Workers in Marsa, near Sibiu

Half a year ago in a metal factory in Marsa, a town neighbouring Sibiu, there was a conflict similar to the current one at Mondostar. Since May 2007 the factory had employed 43

workers from India, paying them US-Dollar 568 before tax. The boss of Grande Mecanica Marsa allocated numbers to the Indian workers, because he wasn't able or willing to pronounce their names. He just called the men Sorin 1, Sorin 2, ... Sorin 24.

At the beginning of January 2008 the contracts of 30 Indian workers were terminated. According to newspaper articles, the men were dismissed because they had not turned up for work since December 20 2007. The same sources states

that during that time the company was shut down for a company holiday. The workers had complained that they were forced to work overtime, which they did not get paid for. "According to our contract our working times are ten hours per day, six days per week. The company did not adhere to the contract and made us work 115 to 130 hours per week." (3) As early as October 2007 the Indian workers

had addressed the media through an open letter, declaring that the management treats them like slaves: "Day in day out we are tortured psychologically. It seems like the management wants to get back at us for complaining at the Indian embassy. For example, before shift starts, when we want to put on our protective clothing, the supervisor eggs us on saying there is no time for putting on the clothing. All the time the management turns up at our work stations telling us: 'faster,

faster! And bear in mind that you are constantly filmed by the surveillance cameras.'" (4)

Overtime boycott

The women are disappointed by the management's behaviour and angry about earning so little. They are not



even able to pay back the loans at home let alone to support their families. They decided to fight back and in the third month they refused to do overtime. They announced an ultimatum to the management: by mid-August the full wages and 100 per cent bonus should be paid. At the beginning of August they filed an official complaint at the Philippines Embassy in Bucharest. Consequently the embassy stopped any further recruitment of seamstresses for Mondostar. A setback for the company given that they wanted to hire 180 more workers. The Inspectorat Teritorial de Munca (ITM) was informed, as well. The ITM is a Romanian state institution which monitors compliance with legal labour standards. The results of the inspection and further measures are not known yet.

The Filipina workers find themselves stuck between a rock and a hard place. Their permission to stay in Romania is bound to the one-year work contract with Mondostar. If they leave the contract early they would lack the money for the flight back home and in Manila they would face huge debts. It would take a long time to claim the money by suing the agency for false pretences. If they continue to work in Sibiu under the given conditions they will not be able to save money. After all they would earn less than back home in Manila.

Meanwhile the management demonstrates how they plan to treat rebellious workers. In response to the protest of the Filipina workers, their four spokeswomen, whom the women had chosen amongst themselves, were sacked along with two others. Consequently they lost their legal permission to stay in Romania and had to fly back to Manila. The Philippines embassy in Bucharest organised this 'deportation'. In the factory the remaining workers have already elected four new spokeswomen.

The management now wants to pay according to performance, but the targets are absurdly high. About 50 workers are supposed to tailor 500 pairs of trousers in an eight-hour shift. They just about manage to tailor 280 to 300, even after seven Romanian workers have been allocated to work with them. In other factories where the women had worked before the corresponding target was about 250.

The women like to be in Sibiu and they would like to stay. People are friendly towards them. "It's only the situation at Mondostar which is unbearable for us." They have often seen local people wrinkle their nose when they hear that the women work at Mondostar. In the region the company is unpopular and well known for bad wages.

Experimental phase

So far there are not many companies in Romania employing a foreign workforce. The few existing attempts at exploiting foreign workers are often accompanied by conflicts and actions of resistance by the migrant workers (see contribution below: "Open letter - Indian Workers in Marsa/Sibiu").

For companies in Romania employing foreign workers means an additional bureaucratic effort and higher costs. In return they hope for a motivated work-force which is always available and more easily controlled than others would be. The fact that legal permission to stay is tied to the work contract provides the employer with a significant tool to put pressure on the workers. Employers increase the workload and try to extort overtime without paying for it. Moreover, actual expenditure for food and accommodation is reduced to the lowest level, while a considerable part of the wages is deducted.

But it's not possible to make the 'industrious and docile' Asian workers drudge like horses just like that, to give

them numbers and keep them under control. They won't put up with everything. The intimidation by employers has only a limited impact on them. Many of the Filipina workers have years of experience of working overseas, they are able to compare conditions, they know how to organise themselves and try to enforce their own interests.

Ana Cosel, 27th of August 2008
Contact: ana.cosel@web.de



Footnotes:

1. Currently the legal minimum wage in Romania is 150 Euros or US-Dollar 220. In the textile industries the wages are only just above the minimum wage (US-Dollar 220 to 280).
2. The car industry suppliers usually pay slightly higher wages in order to attract qualified workers in times of lack of work-force.
3. Sources: Realitatea.net (January 23 2008), Sibiu Standard (January 15 2008), Ziarul de Sibiu (October 8 2007) and Ziarul de Sibiu (May 25 2007)
4. Quoted from the Indian workers' open letter published in a newspaper article of October 8 2007 at www.ziaruldesibiu.ro

Struggles at AUCHAN

AUCHAN Against its Workers in Ukraine

Workers of the AUCHAN mall reveal cases of serious workers' rights violation. In reality a shift in the mall lasts from 16 up to 20 hours per day. Workers who don't want to cooperate are threatened with dismissals.

AUCHAN, the French giant, has opened its first mall in Kiev at the end of March 2008. At 15 thousand square metres of the surface over 500 workers were employed. However, the European logo of the company didn't mean European working conditions by no means - claim the employees.

"We were forced to organize ourselves in a trade union because of an attitude of the French and Ukrainian management to the staff" - says Aleksander Ruzhinskyi, a leader of an initiative group of the trade union "Labour Defence" - "It was a scandal that a working day lasts not 8, but 20 hours. Sometimes you had to work literally for an entire twenty-four hours. Apart from that there was a whole mass of other problems. For example, the company was supposed to provide workers with dinners. But till the time of the official opening of the mall they didn't serve it. Then, they started to serve a very poor meal, for which you need to pay extra money".

According to Ruzhinskyi, many workers were employed to AUCHAN without a valid labour book or insurance card. As a result they turned out to be deprived of all workers' rights. Students were being employed only for one work-day, which lasted 15 hours. "An outrageous accident happened a few months ago. A student working at a machine for cutting cheese cut off his four fingers. After that, he was given 100 hryvnias (14 Euro) to his pocket and they led him out of the company suggesting that he probably "fell down on bottles" - recalls the chairman of the union.

After that the workers decided to create a trade union. Colleagues from the "METRO Cash&Carry" supermarket shared their experience at that field, as "Labour defence" union was established there many days ago. An AUCHAN female worker, who wishes to remain anonymous in fear of repression, says: "At the beginning there were 6 of us. Soon new workers began to sign in, the union started to expand. But after only a few days we already felt a strong pressure on us, although we didn't even manage to express our demands. One of the union members was forced to agree on dismissal, and other four had to write a statement of withdrawal from the union".

Two weeks after establishing the union Aleksander Ryzhinskyi was also laid off: "They accused me that I hadn't worked 20 hours, but only 16. All these hours I was at

work, but people, looking into my eyes, signed the protocol, that I wasn't there... HR-manager, Olga Vovk, showed the greatest enthusiasm in the fight against the trade union". Now the "Labour defence" is demanding restoring Aleksander to job in court.

Unfortunately, Mrs. Vovk refused to take a stand on that topic, using recommendations of the management as an excuse. In the central AUCHAN office they also refused to comment on the story. We only managed to establish that the total silence on this matter was recommended by the French management. Therefore, it is impossible to get to know the attitude of the employer, and also to verify the reports of the union.

"Trade unions are usually associated with some industrial giants. Therefore, the mobilization of workers of the service industry was a surprise for many people" - says a leader of the Kiev committee of "Labour defence", Oleg Viernik. He claims that the reason for this should be sought in the 90s - "Then the heavy industry was collapsing, job in a factory was not respected and it was poorly paid. And the go-ahead youth went to the trade and service industry. Today these people start to unite to defend their rights" - claims Viernik.

Andrirej Movchan, "24"

http://24.ua/news/show/id/55090.htm#add_form

Poland: Auchan Surrenders - Piotr's Case comes to an end

Piotr's case came to an end. Piotr Krzyzaniak, who is an activist of the Workers' Initiative from Zielona Góra, was illegally fired from Auchan. On today's case in the court (25th June), a shopping centre in Zielona Góra put forward

a proposal to Auchan to reach an agreement, accepting two fundamental demands, a disciplinary dismissal was withdrawn and they withdrew claiming 4000 zlotys, which the employer said was stolen by Krzyzaniak. The day earlier, French CNT trade union organised actions against the concern in Nimes and Toulouse. French comrades announced to organise next protests in September.

On 31st December 2007 Piotr Krzyzaniak was accused of appropriation of 4000 zlotys (around 1100 euro) and was dismissed in disciplinary mode by Auchan in Zielona Góra. It was a reaction of the employer on the Workers' Initiative protest two weeks earlier. In front of the supermarket WI activists distributed leaflets informing customers about breaking workers' rights in the store. Also, press was informed about the irregularities. After the dismissal,

criminal proceedings were started against Krzyzaniak and among other things they searched his flat. After all the prosecutor's office didn't discern the crime and dismissed it.



After the WI call in January and February 2008 a sequence of protest campaigns were organised in front of the Auchan shops in different Polish cities (Wrocław, Poznań, Częstochowa, Bielsko-Biala, Gdynia, Warsaw, Zielona Góra). The case of Auchan also interested the media and it was a top story in regional newspapers. A wider group of workers of the aggrieved parties started by Auchan in Zielona Góra, directed a letter to the company's authorities with a demand to dismiss the people responsible for the mistreatments from managerial functions.

During the process witnesses confirmed the accusations formulated by the trade union about Auchan in Zielona Góra. Similarly work standards and a safety inspection, which on demand of the Workers' Initiative, made the control in the area Auchan in Zielona Góra and stated a lot of erroneous. In the document from 13th June they wrote: "we confirm the complaint of the trade union considering the accusations of not paying salary on time for the work considering different workers. What is more, breaking the workers' law and safety regulations was confirmed, considering the time of work, paying salaries and training safety and hygiene at work".

Workers' Initiative Poland

Memories from Auchan

Auchan is a hypermarkets' network, established by the beginning of 60s by the Mulliez family in France. Today, it's the big international syndicate with the French capital, which is running in all the three continents of the Old World. In Poland, it works from 1996 and has 23 hypermarkets in large cities as well as 2 logistical centers in Wałbrzych and in Grójec. According to the official data, it is employing 9000 workers, yet the real number is much bigger for the basic workforce consists largely of persons hired from Temporary Work Agencies, and some sections (security, housework etc.) are fully or partially operated by firms from the outside. Additionally, hypermarkets in Zielona Góra, Legnica, Wałbrzych and Racibórz are administered by the company Schiever Poland, which has granted 50 percent of the profits and which is in fact employ the personnel. So the official number of the Auchan's workers in Poland is much smaller than what it really is.

This corporation offers "the lowest prices", but it also wants to be known for establishing - as the one of the first in the whole branch - of the workers' stockhold, and creates an image of the firm which is not indifferent to the poverty of the Polish children. It is a strategic partner of Polish Humane Action (PAH) and supports "Pajacyk" - boosted program of feeding up children in schools. And... what is the truth?

My first work

By the late September 2006, I went to Fx Work Agency to find a job. Right after I have signed an errand contract I had my first tasks in Auchan in Zielona Góra. I wasn't even 17 then! All the October and November, I had to exhibit commodities in the shop at night. I was going to work at strictly delimited time and carried the manager's orders. At the same time, he was supervising the work of Auchan's crew, which had been in blatant contradiction with civil-law nature of the contract I have had signed and which in fact had meant a concealed relation of work. Of course, I haven't been the only worker under 18 and forced to work at night time (from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m.), contrary to the Article 203 of the Labour Law. But no one was caring about it, both in Auchan and in Fx Work. According to Article 203 § 2 of the Labour Law, the youth over 16 cannot work daily more than 8 hours (and according to § 3 of that article, the time in school is included in) and Article 203 say it is strictly forbidden to employ youth for overtime! Yet sometimes I was receiving errands to be done from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. (10 hours including 8 at the night time) or even from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. (12 hours including 8 at the night time) - and surely, no one have been opposing... Simultaneously I tried to continue learning in a high school. Remember I was just 17 - and not at all the youngest!

Underaged workers worked equally hard, and sometimes even harder than the norms of the Labour Law were allowing for an adult. They were driving and put on the shelves large amounts of high-weighting articles: cans, preserves, drinks in glass bottles, 5-litre bottles with mineral water, multi-kg washing powder boxes and much more. Palette with such a stuff which I had to transport palettes that were often higher than me (and I am 182 cm high).

In about mid-November, I was "shown" how to operate cash. The "instructions" lasted for... about an hour. For the first half an hour I observed a random woman-cashier, and

the next half an hour I was operating cash while guarded by woman-cashier. Another worker has shown me how to turn a float over - which lasted for maybe 15 minutes. After that "training" I was already a cashier, responsible for everything I do, and my salary was cut mercilessly every time I had cash shortage. I was initially earning 4 zlotys net for an hour, and after some time 5,40 zlotys net for an hour. I was usually

earning 1 zlotys an hour more than Fx Work employees, putting products on shelves.

Workers of the three firms did cash service. Basic crew was from Schiever Poland, and they were fully contracted; workers of Fx Work had civil-law contracts, just like those of Max Personal. All of us - no matter to which firm we were bound - were equally subjected to the same senior manager and the managers of the cash section, and we all have had the same duties though our rates were quite different. Also the method of counting these rates was subjected to



Labour Struggles - 2006-2007

particular firm. Even a punishment for cash shortages was different according to particular firm: Fx Work employees had their earning cut and Schiever Poland employees were taught or blamed due to the quantity of the losses made by them.

There was a dubious system of accounts for turning the floats over by workers. Taking wasn't counted in the presence of worker but in the neighbouring room. We were transferring money in the one envelope, and coupons and prints from pay-cards terminals in the other, through so called „safe drawer” near a little window to communicate with the workers of the treasury. Everything was pulled out and counted there without our presence, and then we were informed about possible cash shortages and errors, unable to verify those informations. Often, cash wasn't even counted in Auchan, but in bank which had been sending accounts then. It was common in the evening when the last shift was going home, workers often were shown cash differences through the lists shown in treasury's vestibule. Accounts in holiday periods were sometimes late for two weeks.

From about October 2007, it was hard to find a single day in which no one had a cash shortage exceeding 100 zlotys. It was particularly frustrating to the Fx Work employees, whose earning were cut every time when the cash was lacking. A woman mastering the cash section was accusing us of treating floats like „granting and loaning cashes”, which was baseless due to random control of every worker coming out of the market hall. Also Schiever Poland and Max Personel employees suffered cash shortages. It would mean all of the crew working in the cash sector were sophisticated cheaters, or at best we were all muffs, repeatedly executing too little from customers or spending them 100-200 zlotys too much!

About mid-November, I asked the cash manager to employ me on full contract directly in Auchan (Schiever Poland). My plea was approved by high cash manager. From now on, my salary was 900 zlotys gross (about 730 zlotys net) for 3 of permanent employment time. The scope of my duties hasn't been changed. I was subservient to the same managers than earlier while I had been working for Fx Work. Even the new instructions for cash-operating was considered obsolete to me.

Situation of workers

When I was working in Auchan (until the end of the last year), the salary for common Schiever Poland employee for permanent employment time hadn't exceeded the minimal wage, i.e., 936 zlotys gross, or at best - according to job - was 200-300 zlotys higher. It was common practice that the three months long accounting period wasn't respected and payment for overtime was delayed. Until this day, nothing has changed a lot, only lowest wages have grown to the level of minimal wage and now they're amounting 1126 zlotys gross.

The employer was ignoring the employees' pleas for sufficient means of work hygiene, like dusters or industrial spiritus for washing cashes. For the lack of spiritus, the workers were often forced to disinfect transmission belts with water. Water is not vaporizing easily so it was trickling on driving-belt mechanism, often causing then short-circuits and ignitions. Also seeking dusters (there was about one for five cashes) was troubling. The employees told me this problem was still present. Insufficient number of electromotioned carts in magazines was and is still forcing the workers to transport overloaded palettes on manually-motioned carts. There is often only one woman in the shift, forced to take commodities out of the magazine and

then put them on shelves in the whole section, with only such a manually-motioned cart. According to the law (Decree of the Council of Ministers on the jobs forbidden to the women, September 10, 1996; Diary of Laws No. 114, position 545), women cannot transport anything of weight over 80 kg. The cart I have just said about is weighting 75 kg, it carries a 10 kg palette, so it is 85 kg when you sum up, and remember also about the commodities transported!

Picket, lost coupons, prosecution and lawsuit

From the beginning of my work, I tried to interest other workers to act to improve the conditions of work and make the rights of workers are respected by the companies. I joined then the All-Polish Trade Union „Workers' Initiative” (OZZIP). I tried to bring Inter-works Committee into life, where the employees of Fx Work, Schiever Poland, IPT Akromar and other firms would have been active. I was organizing the meetings of the workers outside the market, but with little success. I was investigating and gathering the reports on abuses from employees. I was composing the union bulletin where I reported about current situation at work. After some time I found the people who have agreed with me so we established the Initiative Group of OZZIP in Auchan.

Between November and December, having sought the opinion of the rest of the group, I have issued a leaflet drawing up the whole situation of the workers in the hypermarket, and violations of the labour law concerning underaged, women and other groups of employees, and I entitled it „Hyper-exploitation in Auchan”. We also decided that the picket will take place before the market, and after my call there came the workers of Cegielski's factory in Poznan as well as other tradeunionist from Zielona Góra, Kostrzyn near Odra and Gdańsk. Picketers demanded the growth of salaries for all workers, by 300 zlotys, and the improvement of working conditions, independently of a particular employer. The action found the big interest among the customers. Picketers distributed the leaflets written by me. Securitas asked them to leave and then called the police. All picketers were reported by the police but the protest lasted as it was planned. It was remaining for a whole hour. After it, we the Initiative Group have distributed a leaflet calling not to work in the free days, to which the management called for, promising money equivalent, and which was contrary to Article 15111 §1 and §2 of the Labour Law. It enables the employers to save money for they don't have then to increase salaries to attract new employees, and instead they, in an intensified way, exploit the minimally paid workforce they already have got, and which are deluded with bonus money.

About two weeks after the picket, at December 30, the senior-manager of the cash, Marzena Wawro, called me to the central cash and told me - in a shuffler's way - that at December 18 and 22 I have made cash shortage amounting of about 4000 zlotys. She was asking questions like „which coupons have you undertaken?” and „how many?”. While leaving - a lower woman-manager was present then - she was slandering me, saying: „let you seek them well home”, just to send me then back to a cash register. Amazing: accuse someone of theft and then let him work on cash again! I received float in the cash also next day as if nothing had happened so I went to my work, but the line manager, phoned by high manager, has sent me to central cash. One of the managers has told me there, that decision was taken to dismiss me from my work and she let me wait until formal matters end. So I have communicated to the

management, expressing my disagreement with the charges against me and my conviction that they are fraudulent, because the real cause of my dismissal is my activity in the trade union; I have written to them that I would not hesitate to inform a prosecutor that the management had committed a criminal act against me.

I was overwhelmed by emotions, so I dictated the letter to a girl who was my colleague. Simultaneously, while the management was receiving my letter, my membership in the union was confirmed through the phone by the people from Country's Committee of OZZIP. After they have received my letter, decision was taken to transfer me to the so called „safe room”, usually used to keep the caught thieves until police comes. Securitas escorted me there from the smoking room where I was being together with the other workers, and which earlier had posed no problem. Also, the disciplinary dismissal was handed to me there, and the accusation was clearly formulated now: „The cause of dismissal is the grave abuse of basic employee's duties and the regulations of work, i.e., causing cash shortage amounting to 1147,57 zlotys at 18.12.2007 and to 2901,19 zlotys at 22.12.2007, so that you endangered the employer with financial lose.” Of course, the police was also called and they came after about 30 minutes. Policemen went to the office of manager Natasza Bloch, and then one of the managers let me leave „safe room” and go home.

Three days after, the police knocked to my door, with the order to search. Two policemen were searching coupons in my room. And from the very beginning, when they have found leaflets, placards and books on workers' themes, they understood that „it is a political matter” and then have distanced themselves a little. After they came to conclusion that there were no coupons in my room and after they had consulted their chief (I consistently refused to speak as an accused), they took me to the police station where I was interrogated as a witness. All of these acts were part of the proceeding undertaken against me by prosecution at the demand of Schiever Poland. Almost simultaneously, I have sued Schiever Poland to labour court, demanding bringing me back to work.

After getting rid of me, the management decided to deal with the other workers so that they would give up engaging in any unionist activity. Managers were spreading the rumours that organizing trade unions and even calling for such an action was... forbidden by inner regulations of work. At the gathering of the employees of IPT Akromar (Auchan's sub-executive), the manager Danuta Dudek threatened that she would cut increases of salaries and would take care that other „unpleasant things” happen to those workers about whom she would know that cooperate with unionists. The employees were rabid all the more because of leaflets, permanently distributed in the hypermarket.

The last part of leaflets hasn't been left for even one single hour. There were tens of leaflets informing about the

circumstances of my dismissal and announcing the protest action in the whole Poland, i.e., pickets against violating workers' and unionists' rights at the area of the hypermarket - and they were confiscated by the managers just ten minutes after they were made accessible. Even the call to support striking miners in Budryk was removed from the social rooms. At that day, securitas was more scrupulous while searching bags - they have searched the leaflets.

A week and a half after, Auchan got rid of another OZZIP member - employed on civil-law contract - who was actively distributing the leaflets. The management started manufacturing „proofs” on the employees they didn't like. Cashier Małgorzata Ksiąda has been repeatedly accused of causing cash shortages because she earlier refused to work in the free days guaranteed by law. She has even „caused” one of the shortages in the day when she was absent from work! Dismissals were handed to some persons who refused to come to work in the free days vested in.

After some time we have organized a group of victims of Auchan in Zielona Góra, and then, at January 24, we have sent a call to dismiss the manager of the cash section, Marzena Wawro, to the office of Schiever in Poznań. We prepared a motivation, made up of 13 points. Here are four of them: „5. She enforces with blackmail the work in the free days granted by law. 6. She deprives the employees of the free days granted by law, without their knowledge. 7. She enforces overtime, no matter the circumstances. [...] 10. She confronts the employees submitted to her in order to make them set at variance and to terrify them.” We have never got any answer, and Marzena Wawro works in her office until now.

Auchan in Zielona Góra has resigned from the services of Fx Works agency - which had employed many under-aged workers - for a short time. But nowadays, this agency is again recruiting employees for Auchan in Zielona Góra. For some time, the system of accounts has changed and the cashiers were enabled to observe the accounts in treasury - the cash shortages have disappeared then! Today, „the situation is unstable”, according to the employees.

Investigation against me has been discontinued already in March - after Schiever Poland refused to bring to light the records from monitoring from the days in which I apparently made a theft. My complaint has caused the lawsuit which lasted for half a year. My defender was Agnieszka Rybak-Starczak, who was earlier defending Jacek Rosołowski, dismissed for trying to establish OZZIP Committee in Impel Tom. The primary trial occurred as early as February 5. At the second trial, I have been investigated in an informational way. At the third trial, witnesses established by my side have been testified. Schiever Poland has added to the acta the note, made by Marzena Wawro, stating she apparently had already known at December 18 that my float lacked a huge amount of coupons. After the fourth trial, the lawsuit has



ended with an agreement. It wasn't an outcome that me and other employees, engaged in the struggle against the corporation, have dreamt of. There was a large probability that the judge will close the suit because of the bad reputation of the side sued. The owner of Schiever Poland, Dominik Matuliński, had been defending his side with... the mess in its documents. He had put into doubt if Schiever Poland had ever been employing me, though both the merit of my contract and the definition of work made clear that it was exactly that firm which had been my employer: Schiever Poland with the main bureau in Poznań. Among the things that were apparently testifying against it were a seal of Auchan on my contract, and documents, presented by Matuliński, confirming that it hadn't been the company from Poznań, but directly Auchan, which had been paying me for my work. In fact, Schiever Poland confirmed that the accusation of theft against me was untrue when it resigned to demand to return them 4000 zlotys, changed the mode of dismissal from disciplinary to agreement of sides, and obligated itself to put me a new definition of work with a new content.

Summary

During the length of the lawsuit, many solidarity pickets have been conducted near the shops of the Auchan network in different cities of Poland and France. Since the beginning, the French trade union National Confederation of Work had been active there. Unfortunately, despite their success and help to me, Auchan didn't resign to violate the labour law in its markets. State Inspection of

Work (PIP) confirmed it later, writing in its letter directed to OZZIP: „the [union's] charge of not paying in term the salary have been confirmed in the case of other employees. Moreover, abuses of labor law as well as safety and hygiene of work were detected, concerning among others the time of work, payment of salaries and instructions about safety and hygiene of work.” These are the same charges I presented already half a year earlier and because of which I lose my job. Today, Auchan in Zielona Góra is in crisis for the considerable number of employees left for the newly-emerging trade center. Despite that, the management failed to decide to increase the salaries and significantly improve the conditions of work.

Even worse news are emerging from our eastern neighbours in Ukraine. As the unionists from the newly-formed initiative group of „Defense of Work” union are reporting, in Auchan in Kiev the working day is 16 and even 20 hours long! Moreover, many workers were invited to work without the annotations in work book and insurance book, despite the Ukrainian law demands it. As a result, they have found themselves deprived of all rights. Unionists have already faced repressions. Some of them, including the founder of the group Alexander Ruzhinsky, were dismissed. Those who were dismissed are now fighting before the court in Kiev to be restored to work.

By Piotr Krzyżaniak

Text taken from the official website of Workers' Initiative - Inicjatywa Pracownicza

Slap on the Wrist for Bus Companies

Warsaw - Poland

The Road Transport Inspector and the Department of Health and Sanitation have finished their investigation of work conditions at three bus companies which have contracts with the city of Warsaw: PKS Grodzisk Mazowiecki, ITS Michałczewski and MZA. The first two companies were fined 30,000 zł. (15,000 USD) and the last, 12,000 (6000 USD). This is a slap on the wrist for these companies whose practices can endanger the lives of many public transport workers and passengers.

They found that many bus drivers work extremely long hours without any break. The longest documented incident they found was a Ukrainian driver from PKS Grodzisk Mazowiecki who worked 44 hours without rest. They also found that some drivers are employed by two firms and work the norm in one, and a second shift in another. Drivers at PKS Grodzisk Mazowiecki point out that sometimes the records are falsified and the names of two drivers are written down but only one was forced to drive the whole time.

Most of these bus companies have won public tenders with the city of Warsaw and try to offer ridiculously low prices. They cannot raise the prices even if the price of gas or labour rises.

The Dept. of Health and Sanitation also inspected the barracks where the bus drivers from PKS Grodzisk Maz. live and claimed they are not fit for living. They are referring the case to the prosecutor's office.

In May there was a small wildcat strike of bus drivers at PKS Grodzisk Maz. which was quelled by the management. Members of ZSP Warsaw and Mazowsze visited the bus

drivers and documented a few cases of abuse to help some of the workers. However afterwards most of the strikers either did not return to work or were not taken back and the other drivers have yet to take decisive labour action. Of the three bus companies mentioned, only MZA, which is owned by the city, has some sort of organized union. This is a typical pattern for labour unions in Poland to be more active in the public sector than the private. Additionally, there is little labour organizing done amongst contracted workers and foreigners.

Below we are reprinting news on the strike of PKS Grodzisk Mazowiecki drivers which was printed in "Strike", the bulletin of Warsaw ZSP at the end of May.

Protest and Wildcat Strike: Bus Drivers Angry but have no Effective Strategy for Struggle

The public transport system in Warsaw is controlled by ZTM (the Municipal Transport Board) but various companies are contracted to operate Warsaw's buses. The largest company, MZA, is operated by the City of Warsaw but also several private operators run bus lines. These companies usually have won contracts through public tenders.

One of these companies is PKS Grodzisk Mazowiecki (PKS GM) which is a privatized "worker-run company". (Such companies in Poland usually are worker shareholder schemes, quite far from any idea of collective self-management by the workers.) PKS Grodzisk Mazowiecki, like most

other companies which pay shit wages, has trouble finding people to work and recruits people from impoverished areas of Poland and the Ukraine to work.

In May, members of **Union of Syndicalists (ZSP)** heard about problems people were having in PKS GM from some of the Ukrainian drivers. Drivers are expected to work very long hours, despite the fact that work time regulations clearly limit the hours a driver can work to 9 per day and require that they have two free days per week. However, it is not uncommon that the drivers were made to work 10, 12 and even up to 17 hours per day without overtime pay. Many Ukrainian driver worked 60-75 hours a week or even more. This is not only abusive, but extremely dangerous for both the workers and passengers; one bus driver fell asleep at the wheel in May and had a serious accident. PKS GM also committed other infractions and abuses.

Members of ZSP documented how drivers had money taken out of their wages (even up to almost 50% of their salaries) for going over "gas limits". The company set strict limits (which they often don't tell the drivers about) for how much gas should be used during a typical route. If a driver gets caught in one of Warsaw's notorious traffic jams and burns more fuel than the limit, this gets docked out of their salaries.

Other problems that workers had included the fact that PKS GM were holding workers' passports so that they couldn't leave and that the company was holding the drivers' licenses. Not to mention poor living conditions, etc.

On May 13, workers held a wildcat strike. Not all of them went on strike. Mostly it was the Ukrainian drivers, although a few Polish drivers supported the protest. We went to talk to the workers and see if there was anything we could do.

Basically, workers in this position have limited choices. They can take radical action, but then they should have a plan: storm the office of the company, make an action to get in the media, block the streets or the routes where scabs were driving, or some sort of radical direct action. Or they could go the legal route and file suits against their employees.

Unfortunately it turned out that many of the Ukrainian workers were not convinced that anything they would do could help them. It wasn't exactly true. Some pressure was put on PKS GM. A few articles got into even the mainstream news, we also gathered evidence of the firm's violations, sent them to the appropriate authorities, sent them out to the city, politicians, the transit board, etc. so that should the workers want to pursue legal action, the documentation would be there in Polish. Had the workers decided to organize themselves and take action, whether direct action or legal action, they would be in a good position to stop the abuse.

On May 15, Zenon Marek, the head of PKS GM came to the depot and gave out envelopes filled with cash to the striking bus drivers. Of course this was done without any receipts or calculation as to how much was really owed to people. But it was enough to calm down some people, unfortunately.

Additionally, drivers were given a 10-day vacation to go back to Ukraine. Ostensibly, this rest was to make up for being overworked, but in reality it was just another strike-breaking technique. Unfortunately there wasn't much we could do to convince people that they need to stay and fight at that moment so we agreed to meet in June.

Follow-up

The drivers who went to Ukraine never came back and we had contact with them by mobile phones, most likely on Polish pre-paid cards that didn't work. We tried to make new contacts but there were mixed reactions. We found out that news workers didn't know what was going on and that some Polish drivers were told that the Ukrainians were "caught stealing". Apparently not all bought the bullshit and we heard a few people say that nothing changed and they didn't feel anything could be accomplished.

Global Action Day in Solidarity with Teacher Federico Puy in Slovakia and Czech Republic

A short and incomplete summary of actions organised in Slovakia and Czech during the last week of August as part of the IWA campaign in support of Federico Puy - a teacher and FORA-IWA member sacked from Red Cross branch in Buenos Aires.

What we did:

1. A protest action and a delivery of official protest note to the nearest branch of the Red Cross
Red Cross has branches in a lot of even small towns. This was a great opportunity for people who were outside the "centers of activism" to organize their own actions.
Two of our comrades made a small action on 15th August in the small town of Bardejov in Slovakia. And it went very well. Two people were enough to go to the RC branch office, told employees there why they came and talked with them a little or gave them the leaflet. Then they asked to meet the office boss to give her a protest letter.
Our members, comrades or friends also visited local branches in Bratislava (photo right), Košice, Prešov, Biliina (photo with poster below), Niar nad Hronom, Trenčín in Slovakia; and Olomouc, Pisek, Ostrava, Karviná (and possibly more as Czech part of Czechoslovak Anarchist

Federation also took part in the campaign) in Czech republic. With aim to spread the campaign also in Czech Republic and with cooperation with comrades from Czech we made leaflets, posters and protest e-mails also in Czech language.

2. Posters were placed near the offices of the Red Cross in Slovakia and Czech cities/towns

There were two types of posters that people used. One was for the teachers to encourage them to show their solidarity in some way. The other one was for general public (just with informative effect). Posters for teachers were placed at front doors of schools in Bratislava (altogether over 30 schools!). Posters with general information were placed on much less places as we concentrated mostly on teachers this time. Several comrades and friends asked their former teachers for solidarity by e-mail or face-to-face. Except above mentioned towns, the public saw the posters also in

few other towns mostly in mid-Slovakia.

3. E-mails and faxes were sent to all branches in our country and to the headquarters in Geneva and to the branches in Argentina

We provided people with all possible addresses and model letters to send. This way they could send e-mails to Argentina, Geneva, Slovakia and Czech Republic in a few minutes. We know that people responded to this appeal quite well also because when activists visited local branches in some towns they have been informed that Red Cross

knows about Federico's case because their branch received a protest e-mail(s).

We have also informed mass media (and few local media) by sending our press release but we received no feedback and we suppose no-one printed it out. At this moment we collect all the reports from different towns and plan to put on our website an overview article about all actions in Slovakia, Czech and worldwide. Thus we would welcome info on action organized in other countries.

More: www.priamaakcia.sk

Strike in September very likely at Fagor - (Spanish) Mondragon Capitalists Subsidiary

Fagor's not a Workplace but a Workcamp: Mondragon Capitalists Fuck Workers in Poland, strike is imminent. Fagor is a large appliance manufacturer owned by the Mondragon "Cooperative" capitalist enterprise. Currently there are serious labour problems in FagorMastercook. Members of the Warsaw group of Union of Syndicalists (ZSP) went recently to a protest in front of the factory.

The place has become quite militarized. On that day the firm had over 200 armed security guards from the notorious firm Impel there to protect the factory. The place was surrounded by metal barricades and each worker going in was thoroughly searched. Some employees say that there is often heavy security and searches:

Despite the heavy security, or perhaps because of it, hundreds of workers joined in the demonstration on Friday. About 300 people, workers and supporters, were there after the morning shift, and about 200 before the afternoon shift began. The demo was organized by the August 80 union which has been negotiating with the firm for many months to get people a pay raise.

The workers in FagorMastercook have noted many instances of people being fired for belonging to unions or even just agreeing with their postulates. At least 20 members of August 80 were fired.

In FagorMastercook there are a few unions: Solidarity, August 80 and OPZZ Metalworkers. Solidarity and August 80 are calling for pay raises. In June a warning strike took place. Over 90 percent of the workers went on strike. Then a wave of repression started. Besides firing some unionists and others who supported them, they started to pick out people, have supervisors stand behind them on the line watching their every move, threatening to fire them if they got even a second behind production. This sort of intimidation was probably used to show people that if they tried to organize themselves, the company would find any small pretext to fire them.

On July 9, two members of August 80 were fired for "leaving their workstations". They had been collecting votes on a strike referendum.

Members of ZSP at the demonstration were told that

people were threatened with dismissal for demanding pay raises. They also heard that the workers will probably vote to go on strike. Production workers at FagorMastercook make around 1200 zloties (400 euros) a month. Minimum wage in Poland is currently 1126 zloties a month but this will be raised to 1276 next year. So workers at this highly profitable factory are making almost nothing. That's why one of the slogans of the workers is FagorMastercook: A Work-camp, not a Work-place.

At the end of 2006, the EBRD decided to give 17.5 million euro to FagorMastercook. This money was given as part of a restructuring project. FagorMastercook wants to increase production in Poland and achieve economies of scale while making Poland its production hub for Central Europe. The company moved production from Spain when it started new production of gas stoves in Poland about 5 years ago. The production of refrigerators also got moved to Poland. Over 80 percent of the production is meant for export. They increased turnover by about 29% last year.

FagorMastercook works in a Special Economic Zone and received subsidies from the Polish state; it received a direct subsidy of 3.5 million zloties for creating jobs, plus a CIT and corporate real estate tax exemption. So in addition to money from the EBRD, FagorMastercook got help from the Polish state of about 52 million zloties. That's equal to the EBRD's 17.5 million euros at the current exchange rate. This means that the EBRD and Polish state invested more in the FagorMastercook facilities in Wroclaw than Fagor.

Although Mondragon still pushes its "cooperative" worker-friendly image, publishing bullshit reports on how it is concerned about the effects on globalization on the local work-

force, for example in Spain, Mondragón Cooperative Corporation (MCC) is a typical capitalist employer operating plants in low-wage countries like Poland, Egypt, Morocco, Mexico, Thailand and China. Employees in these countries are not co-op members. (Some employees in other countries, even in Spain are also non-members; as many as 1/3 of Mondragon workers are not cooperative members. Any cooperative can also apply to MCC to employ up to 40% non-cooperative workers).



It pretends to be "one of the world's top 10 best employers" and pays completely shit wages here in Poland and is actively repressing unionists. This is even worse than having typical capitalism disguised as a cooperative; it's just typical exploitation of people from poorer countries by those in the richer ones.

ZSP is calling on people to send letters to Mondragon and to Fagor expressing their disgust with the appallingly low wages in Poland and with the recent incidents of repression and intimidation against protestors. We also ask people, if they meet anybody spreading naive reports about Mondragon, to point out what's going on.

Sample protest letter (please write your own version):

If you sent a protest letter, let us know. If you sent a different text, send copies to: info@zsp.net.pl

To:

José María Aldecoa
Mondragon Corporation Cooperative
Pº Jose Maria Arizmendiarieta
Nº 5 20500 Mondragon
Guipuzcoa, Espana

- Sample Letter -

Fax: +34 943- 796 632 Fax: 34 943-779-300

Fagor Electrodomésticos Fax: 943 79 68 81

Fagor Mastercook Fax: 48 22 639-8985

We are writing to support the demands of the workers at Fagor Mastercook in Wroclaw and to demand an immediate end to its repression of unionists.

Workers at Fagor Mastercook are demanding a pay raise of 1000 zloties since salaries there are barely above minimum wage and are well below the national average. Over 90% of the workforce participated in a warning strike in June. Afterwards, many union members and leaders were fired. Workers have complained that they have been harrassed and intimidated. Peaceful demonstrators were met by 200 armed security guards.

This type of exploitation is a disgrace. Enough of your hypocrisy !
We are looking forward to the workers' imminent strike and ultimate victory.

Signed:

Alarm at Rozbrat Again!

ATTENTION!

The lawyer of Rozbrat squat has obtained an information that the bailiff/debt collector has just sent the records and complete documentation to the court in order to set the date of the auction. This date may appear soon. The ground where Rozbrat is situated may be sold. The campaign "Rozbrat stays!" was not very loud in the last months but it does not mean that the situation of Rozbrat has stabilized. We ask you to keep your eyes open and support us when necessary. Our stand is unchanged: we won't give up without fight!

Rozbrat Collective

Rozbrat - A Free Space in an Unfree World

Article written for the ESF in Malmo - September 2008

Rozbrat squat is situated in Western city of Poland - Poznan. The city is one of the richest ones in Poland, it's close to the German borders, the unemployment rate is much lower than in the other parts of Poland, there is an International Trade Center plus a lot of hotels for its guests, there's a football stadium that will be one of the stadiums for Euro 2012, there's one the best awarded shop-

ping malls owned by one of the richest people in Poland. And yeah, the richest guy in Poland is from Poznan, him and his wife were given a ground for their shopping mall by the neoliberal president of Poznan on very doubtful grounds, now he's legally sentenced for this. He's also sentenced for banning several demonstrations in the city, at one of them - the infamous gay pride in 2005, 60 people were illegally arrested, finally, no one - apart from the president - was charged. Poznan is

also a city where F-16 aircrafts have their base, it's located within the borders of the city, being very dangerous and burdensome for its neighbors and all inhabitants of the city. Poznan is an expensive city, what is troublesome for masses of working class people and for around 100 thousand students living there. In the last years, the costs of living rise rapidly, from the prices of food, rent, tram tickets, almost everything gets more and more expensive every year.

The existence of Rozbrat squat in Poznan is therefore even more surprising. In this purely capitalist surrounding, we've been there for 14



years now. From a housing project, our squat grew to a social-political-cultural center, organizing dozens of different events every year: gigs, parties, exhibitions, lectures, picnics, debates, sports competitions and what is the most important: loads of demonstrations and protests throughout the years. Having the autonomy behind the fence of our squat, we've always tried to be as open as it's possible and not to stay closed within our autonomy - we'd rather call our space a free space - free to new ideas to live in a better reality, without exploitation, oppression, capitalism, social control, fascism, sexism. We take part in local protests, from workers strikes, to local communities' struggles with the authorities, through taking part in wider protests of other oppressed groups, people discriminated against sexu-

ally, racially or economically. For all those years, the eviction threats were rather minor and didn't cause much mobilization considering eviction.

Peaceful times ended last January, when a debt collector, together with cops, came to our squat with a warrant from the court, drilled the locks and came in to estimate the price of the ground of one of the parts where the squat is. Rozbrat is situated on three parts of ground owned by three different owners. The biggest one was owned by a company which disappeared roughly 15 years ago after taking a big loan from a bank. So, after years, bank came to a moment when they can auction the ground to get their money back - the space has been occupied for 14 years though. We raised red alarm, all our friends, supporters, comrades were

informed that the auction can happen any day now. It's been over seven months now and nothing has happened. Probably there are some legal problems in the court but we're not giving up. After the visit of the debt collector in January, we decided to make as much publicity about Rozbrat as possible. We're happy to see hundreds of people coming to our events, dozens of guests visiting us every now and again, getting a lot of support from other cities and countries. We renovated our bar, small concert hall and we're planning more. We're waiting for the hour zero but it's not waiting for the end. We know that we will not disappear. With this place or another - we will always be here.

Recently, thanks to the international squatting days of action, there's been a wide international debate on the future of squatting in Europe. We also took part in it. The Western squatting movement focused much of its power to create autonomy within the borders of capitalist reality. Did it work out well? Many squatting communities became scene ghettos, they don't have much to offer to the world outside. That's what

we were always aware of and tried to fight with the ghettoisation of squatting. More and more free spaces are being repressed and evicted, but on the other hand more spaces are falling into the process of gentrification, people from poorer communities have to pay higher rents, not mentioning other costs of surviving, the working law is being changed by the neoliberal government so that it would make us work more and for less money. Our surrounding is becoming an environment for rich people only. For money, not for free thought. We, as squatters and anarchists, are under severe attack of the authorities that want to take our free spaces away from us. If we want to keep them, we have to change tactics. We have to show our social face. Because squatting is a purely social issue and it is an alternative for living in this world - an alternative which is dangerous and inconvenient for this system. As people that still have free spaces we should use them as much as possible to be open for everyone who rebels against this reality of wealth and power. Together we're stronger. Let's build a big free space around our squats - a space of free thinking minds that will also be a support for each other at all times.

We, at Rozbrat, are trying hard to get outside, to get people from outside to visit us, to work with us, to have fun with us. Sometimes it works better, sometimes worse, but we don't feel alone. On the final day, we will not be alone. For sure.

Be ready for the news from us, visit us anytime you can, it's less than 300 km from Berlin. We couldn't come to ESF because we're just celebrating our 14th birthday party but we'll surely see you in the streets!

Mo.

Rozbrat Collective
+ Anarchist Federation Poznan

Web: www.rozbrat.org/

Rozbrat video:

<http://video.squat.net/Rozbrat-Poznan-Poland.mpg>

English subtitles:

<http://video.squat.net/Rozbrat-Poznan-Poland.EN.txt>

September 2008,
source: www.rozbrat.org



Shut Down EU Migrant Hunters!

Report from actions against Frontex in Warsaw

Frontex is the EU agency which helps to coordinate and implement EU immigration policy: it is involved in training and coordinating armed border defense teams and border guards, conducting migrant hunting operations to hunt down people crossing so-called 'national borders', intercepting boat people, organizing charter deportations, spying on migrants and other

heinous acts. On June 5-6, activists from many different countries came to Warsaw - where Frontex has its headquarters - with the slogans "No Borders, No Nations, Stop Deportations" and "Shut Down Frontex", in order to protest its deadly policies.

On June 5, the second of two transnational conferences took place. (A more complete account of the conference should appear later.) The conference was opened by Laure Akai with presentations by Amadou Mbow, a human rights activist from Mauretania, Devi Sachetti from Italy, who deals with issues of migrant rights, including the issue of precarity and migrant labour, Vincent de Jong from Holland, who is active in resistance against detention and deportation in Holland, Georgios Maniatis from Greece and Hagen Kopp from Germany. The speakers presented information about the Frontex operations near the coast of Africa and their consequences, the operations in Libya and the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas as well as an overview of Frontex operations, the ideology behind this and our arguments against this regime. It was pointed out during the presentations and later discussions how destructive these policies are and how the migrants can be victimized twice - for example, by the practices of some businesses which undermine their traditional livelihoods at home and then by the policies of the countries these businesses tend to come from, which seek to exclude people.

On June 6, a demonstration was held in front of Frontex headquarters. People from many countries were present, people from various social movements, some refugees living in

Poland as well. The protestors demand that Frontex be shut down and that freedom of movement should be given to all, that there be an end to discrimination of all sorts against immigrants. The sleazy head of Frontex, Ilkka Laitinen, came out to try to assure the press that he's a nice, decent guy who's just doing his job, which most people agree with. He

invited some people in to speak with him but, just like any two-faced, teflon politician, he tried to deflect all criticism by using Eichmann's defense and pretended to not know anything about migrants suffering because of Frontex's work. He asked people to please

inform people should they hear of any problems. As if the fact that people came thousands of miles to protest was no indication that something was going wrong.

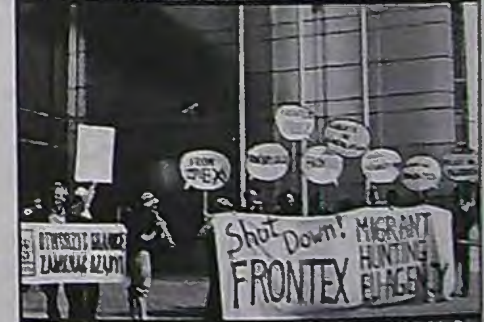
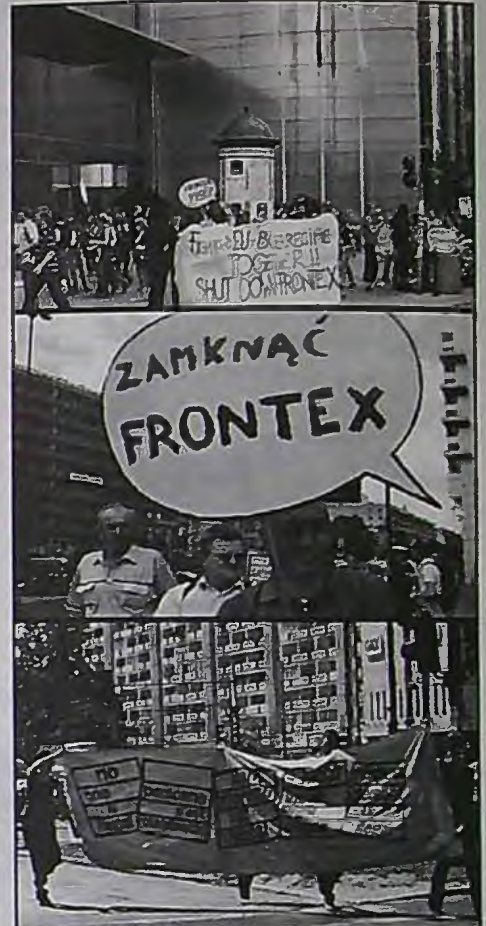
The protestors made some speeches and had many slogans against borders in general, against deportation, against Frontex, etc. Afterwards, people went to the Presidential Palace to protest Poland's immigration policies, in particular its agreement with the Vietnamese government to deport 5000 Vietnamese people. The Polish border police, along with Vietnamese security forces, carried out a number of raids recently in which Vietnamese people were beaten, detained and deported. This government agreement has driven many of Poland's Vietnamese (70,000 people in Warsaw) underground.

Afterwards activists met and agreed to continue working on this issue, to make the issue more known and to provide a deeper analysis of the processes, including appeals to working class people not to be fooled by the divisive ideology of the statists and capitalists which pits working people against each other.

The anti-Frontex activities ended with a concert on June 7th.

More info on Frontex:

www.noborder.org
www.frontex.info.pl
<http://frontexwatch.wordpress.com/>
<http://www.frontex.info.pl>



A N A R C H I S T B L A C K C R O S S

SUPPORT FOR ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW

ABC Moscow is supporting repressed anti-authoritarians, who are repressed for their political activities or actions which do not conflict with anarchist ideals. Financial support for prisoners is often necessary. Often financial resources are needed, for this we have set up a fund.

Money from our fund is allocated to:

- legal support
- material support, for example medical aid and food parcels for prisoners

You may help ABC by donating to our fund. If you have particular wishes on allocation of money, let us know. Also, always write how did you fundraise money for us and how much.

Find more info and bank-accounts details here:

[http://cia.bzzz.net/
support_for_anarchist_black_cross_of_moscow](http://cia.bzzz.net/support_for_anarchist_black_cross_of_moscow)

OUTRAGEOUS ARRESTS OF TWO ANARCHIST STUDENTS IN PENZA, RUSSIA

Two anarchist students from the city of Penza were arrested on June 19 for handing out leaflets! The leaflets said "Government is the prison of the people. Become an anarchist and free yourself!" The cops are pressing criminal charges against the two, Oslav Kiroshyev and Vitaly Bakhmasterov. They are facing expulsion from the university and imprisonment.

This is an extremely dangerous case as the police are basically trying to use anti-extremist laws to outlaw all public anarchist activity, even handing out such leaflets. Just like in the old days of the totalitarian one party state, thought crime is punished by imprisonment.

Penza is a city with over half a million people. In such places with no big organized anarchist movement, the authorities feel free to exercise all their power to crush anybody who even tries to start an anarchist movement. We have got to send a clear message to them that we will not tolerate this and try to support these two because the state is clearly trying to repress young people like that and scare them in order to repress any potential anarchist organizing.

Hopefully news will follow on how you can help.

ALEKSEI BYCHIN REPRESSED BY RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES AFTER DEFENDING HIMSELF AGAINST NAZI'S

On the 16th of July, 22 year old anti-fascist Aleksei Bychin was arrested in St. Petersburg. He is facing charges according to statute 111, part 1 of Russian criminal codex (consciously causing grievous bodily harm). On the 18th of July he was put to remand prison.

On the night 12-13 of June, a group of around 20 anti-fascist punks was hanging around in the city. Aleksei and his girlfriend were behind the main group. A group of two neonazi skinheads passed by them throwing "siege heil"-greetings. Aleksei understood that Nazis were about to attack him, as one of them was carrying a broken bottle. A fight started, and Aleksei was forced to use a knife against one of the attackers. He wounded one of the Nazis with a knife, and fascists ran away. Eventually it became known that one of the Nazis was a police officer.

In June and July St. Petersburg police were investing the case, using a wide variety of illegal means. A number of punks from St. Petersburg and surrounding areas were taken to "discussions" which lasted for hours; no protocols were made during these "discussions". People were threatened, illegally detained after concerts, contents of mobile phones were confiscated, and police even set up false accounts in popular Russian social networking site vkontakte.ru (a facebook copycat) in order to gather information.

Early in the morning on the 16th of July in St. Petersburg one antifascist punk was arrested while leaving his home. He was taken to 76th police station in Mytinskaya street 3, and restrained for several hours. After this, he was forced to call Aleksei Bychin and propose him to meet in the center of the city. At this meeting Aleksei was arrested and taken to 76th police station. Police refused food and water, which friends of Aleksei carried to police station. It is also worth taking notice that during interrogation of one of the witnesses of the events in 76th police station on the 17th of July policemen were drunk, they announced that they were supporting National-Socialism and were throwing "siege heil"-greetings. Flat of Aleksei and his girlfriend were searched as well.

We, friends and comrades of Aleksei are certain, that in the fight on the night 12-13 of June he was acting out of self-defence. We support all forms of resistance against neonazism, direct action and physical confrontation included. It is obvious for us, that the police forces are full of people with nationalist attitudes and while these tendencies are not spoken aloud, we can not trust a single word from government officials who are promoting tolerance and fighting "anti-social" behaviour.

Antifascist information group
e-mail: antifa_spb@riseup.net
phone: +79817452556

A N A R C H I S T B L A C K C R O S S

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

THE STATE IS THE REAL TERRORIST: FOR THE RELEASE OF RNC PROTESTERS

On September 11th, a protest was held in front of the US Embassy in Warsaw. Sept. 11 is a day which is strongly connected in the American mind with terrorism, so it was no coincidence that on this day, people showed up to challenge the way the idea of terrorism is being used in the US (and in other countries) to stifle legitimate protest and resistance while at the same time terrorizing people into supporting repression, torture, war and murder.

The immediate inspiration for this picket was the arrests of hundreds of people at protests against the DNC and RNC in the US and, in particular, the arrest and charges of "conspiracy to riot in furtherance of terrorism" against some people involved in organizing the protests or their logistic support. We would like to send our message of solidarity to Monica, Eryn, Luce, Erik, Nathanael, Robert, Garrett, Max and others who face these harsh charges while the real terrorists carry on their business with impunity.

Anti-Terrorist Farce

The state's attempts to invent "terrorists" could be considered a farce - if the consequences for those charged weren't so gravely serious. Hundreds of people have been the victims of the US anti-terrorist hysteria. The horrible incidents of Sept. 11, in which many innocent civilians lost their lives and thousands of others suffered or became ill, provided a pretext for these actions. Yet the force of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim hysteria, the increased surveillance of citizens - this has mostly affected normal people who have nothing to do with the murder of anybody, nothing to do with terrorism. These people - those who have had bombs fall on their homes, or have seen loved ones maimed or killed, who have been deported, who are watched, locked up, denied safety - they have in fact been **TERRORIZED** by the state which claims it is fighting terrorism. But is it really?

When examining the facts around Sept. 11, one sees that something is very off indeed. The "official version" not only does not make sense but also there is extremely strong evidence that much of it is bullshit and that it is a large scale cover-up, if not a **CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT REAL TERRORISM** took place. (Those interested can read the Terrorism Timeline or watch such films as "9/11: Press for Truth" or "Loose Change", to name a few.)

How is it possible that a technologically advanced military did not intercept the planes which crashed into the

WTC when it is standard procedure to intercept planes which diverge off their flight path? How is it possible that when the military claimed to be looking for Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan they let a large convoy go right past the border into Pakistan? How is it that at first the government only allocated \$3 million for the 9/11 Commission? The answers are very uncomfortable, even unthinkable for millions of people: the government did not want to stop a real terrorist attack, they did not really want to apprehend Bin Laden (who they used in the conspiracy), nor did it really want any real investigation into the matter.

It is important to compare this with the state's actions before and during the DNC and RNC: they infiltrated and invigilated groups, they gave police in each city \$50 million to make sure the conventions were not disrupted in any way, they turned the cities into police states. In the end they put ridiculously severe charges on people, some of whom probably committed no serious crime whatsoever, let alone terrorize anybody. It looks like much more was done to stop RNC protests from getting a bit strong than was done to prevent the deaths of thousands of innocent people at the WTC.

For anybody paying enough attention, this is the typical procedure of this oppressive state which will stop at nothing to prevent citizens expressing their anger and dissent in anything but the most passive way. It is this ability to crush all resistance and to attempt to scare those who dare protest that keeps the politicians in power, unchecked, free to conduct the most heinous wars and abuses against its citizens and the people of the world.

Solidarity is our Weapon

We grieve the loss of innocent lives which are the result of wars, oppression, brutalization, exploitation. Such violence

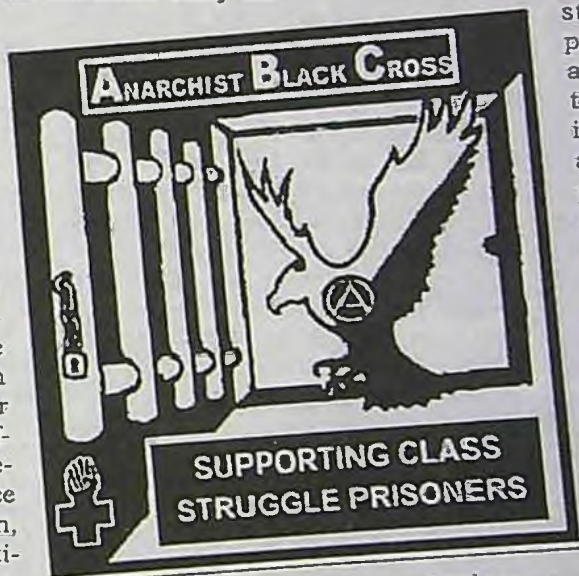
against people only breeds more violence. The greatest hope of overcoming this spiral of despair is human solidarity.

On September 11, when some choose to mourn individually, we choose to challenge people to think about this as connected to the larger phenomenon of terrorism and to consider its real character and its causes. In examining the nature of terrorism, we ask people to also take a look at what was going on at the RNC and to ask: was that terrorism, or freedom of expression? Were the thousands of people on the streets supporters of terrorism or were they the ones who spoke out against the real terror which is going on?

We think that the answer will (eventually) be obvious to many.

Anarchist Solidarity

anarchistsolidarity@yahoo.com





Anti-Militarism



"From 8 to 13 September we held in South Ossetia. Listening to clearly propagandist messages by Russian and Georgian media, we wanted to understand what is happening in reality..."

War in South Ossetia: "Why did you come here?"

Report by Russian Activist who Visited the Conflict Region

From 8 to 13 September we held in South Ossetia. Listening to clearly propagandist messages by Russian and Georgian media, we wanted to understand what is happening in reality. We were basically in Tskhinvali and nearby villages – it was not possible to travel far – a large part of the territory has been closed by Russian military. Therefore, we were talking either to the Ossetians, or people of other nationalities, who remained "on the Ossetian side" of war. We have not met a single person in Ossetia, which has a neutral position in this conflict, or tried to justify the actions of the Georgian side. This is understandable. The war took place only a month ago, many have lost relatives or friends, many waited for death, sitting in the basement during the shelling of Tskhinvali. And for us it was very difficult to remain neutral and not become "Ossetian patriots". But we compare stories of people in Ossetia to the information on the Internet and views of human rights organizations and tried to be objective.

First briefly about the main myths of Russian-Ossetian and Georgian propaganda. We think that the people killed in the war on the Ossetian side were 200 to 400 people, and not 1.5 or 2 thousand. People are lucky; they hid in basements and were unattainable for the firing of artillery and aircraft. Many of them left the city and moved the eve of the conflict in North Ossetia, as well as the evacuation was announced. The war was short and not aimed at the mass killing of civilian population. Nevertheless, it is very much for the Ossetian people (in South Ossetia recently lived from 30 to 50 thousand people according to different sources) and it is a lot in any case, taking into account the value of life of every person. But the data on the dead became an ideological weapon in war from both sides. Until now, Russian and Ossetian authorities use the figure 1.5-2 thousand dead as an argument for the genocide

of the Ossetian people. The Georgian government is trying to underestimate the numbers of deaths.

Russian and Ossetian authorities often talk about the total destruction of Tskhinvali. According to our estimates 10-30% of dwellings in Tskhinvali had become unfit for habitation. Humanitarian disaster does not take place there, as well as there are strong social ties in South Ossetia, people are living temporarily in houses of relatives and neighbors, many of them moved into Russia where they are placed in dormitories and sanatoriums. There is humanitarian aid in the form of food and household items but not a lot, people get food from relatives from villages. Russia invests a lot in the city's infrastructure, but there are still many people who have lost their dwellings and have not received any place to live while their houses are restored. People hope that the aid from the Russian government will continue and became the "Russian patriots" because they viewed Russia as a liberator and savior.

The brutality of military. We have heard from Ossetians many stories about brutality and atrocities of Georgian soldiers, but most of them are obvious speculation. Brutal was the bombing of Tskhinvali on August 8-9 and the artillery tanks firing at cars with refugees who tried to leave the city on Zarskaya road. According to some eyewitnesses, there were about 250 people killed (most likely less) – more than were killed in the bombing of the city – they are talking about 50 cars burnt. We counted 13 cars – those that were not removed one month after the conflict. All residents of the city experienced strong psychological shock. The shelling from artillery on August 8-9 was so strong that they were confident that they would perish. Two days and nights they spent in the basements with their children, the wounded people were near but they could not help

them, they didn't know what's happening around – mobile communications almost did not work. But we have not met a person who saw with his own eyes the Georgian soldiers killing civilians. At the same time, while the Russian and Ossetian troops passed through Georgian villages between August 9-10, they also didn't murder and didn't use violence against civilians. Of course we can not know about some cases, but at least violence was not such a mass as we can hear from propagandist messages of both sides. 215 people from the Georgian side were killed, among them 69 peaceful citizens. If the bombing of Gori and other settlements in Georgia would have been as strong as the Georgian authorities say then the number of deaths would be definitely higher.

Without a doubt, soldiers from both sides tried to kill as many enemies as possible. One Ossetian soldier said that they finished off the captives. Another one shot from a machine gun at a Georgian soldier who tried to escape. There is a video in which the Ossetians forced the Georgian prisoners to tread feet on the Georgian flag. But people did not kill each other as machines – many of them did not want this war, many have relatives on the "other side". 45-years-old soldier Mair was involved in four wars in the Caucasus. When his son was 16-years-old he went to serve in the Ossetian army. Now he is 19 and he was seriously wounded on August 8 in front of his father. Perhaps he will be disabled. The evening of August 9, when fighting in Tskhinvali had already ended, Mair with other soldiers captured a group of Georgian reservists. They were very young, 18-20 years old, very afraid and asked not to kill them. Looking at them Mair burst into tears. "Why did you come here?" – many times he asked the Georgian soldiers thinking about his son.

Russian media remain silent about

the expulsion of Georgian villages. On the territory of South Ossetia there are a few dozen villages with mainly Georgian population (but Ossetians also live in each village as well as there are very much marriages between Georgians and Ossetians). Ossetians considered some Georgian villages as hostile, arguing that their residents insulted them, beat and interfere with their cars while they are traveling through the villages. I think part of these statements are based on real facts because of nationalist views of Georgians, continually fueled by Georgian authorities. At the same time the cars were stopped mostly



not by local residents but by police - the Georgian government created police posts in these villages. So, about 11 such villages have been completely destroyed after August 10th this year. Most of the residents of Georgian villages located near Tskhinvali fled to Georgia from 1 to 7 August. The Georgian authorities have warned them about the possible worsening of Georgian-Ossetian relations. The rest of the population (except some old men and women and the Ossetians who refused to leave) was moved to Georgia by Russian and Ossetian military 10-12 August. Then empty villages began to burn and be destroyed. Some believe that robbers did so to hide their crimes. But more likely that Ossetians burned villages, having received the secret order from Ossetian authorities. The Russian military assisted or not prevented. On August 17, South Ossetian President Eduard Kokoity said that the Ossetians military completely ruined Georgian villages on the territory of the unrecognized republic. "We are razed to the ground almost all there" - his words.

Now Kokoity publicly declares that Georgian refugees may return. But people lost their houses and on the territory of one of those villages - Timorasheni - have already agreed to build a "Moscow district" for Ossetians who have lost their dwellings. In addition, in South Ossetia anti-Georgian propaganda in mass-media continues and as a consequence there is strong anti-Georgian mood among the population. Looting in the destroyed villages actually took place. Almost nobody considered it shameful -

Ossetians do not want the return of the Georgian people and considered destroyed village as large dumps.

As anarchists we do not care about the integrity of the State of Georgia and therefore we consider the beginning of the conflict clearly as an attack of the Georgian army on the Ossetian territory. (In perfect accordance with the Russian official point of view. :-)) The conflict has been prepared for several months.

Georgia and Russia have concentrated their military forces near the borders of South Ossetia in advance. But as far as we were able to find out, Russian troops entered the territory of South Ossetia after the Georgia attack on Tskhinvali. Of course, the Russian government is guided not by humanistic ideas but by geopolitical. However, for South Ossetia it was salvation. Ossetians believe that if they lost the war, they would not be able to live in this territory.

We were not interested in the implementation of international agreements in South Ossetia; we want to understand how people live and how society works.

Democracy in the "western sense" doesn't take place in South Ossetia. Party "Edinstvo" ("Unity") has almost all the seats in Parliament and works only during elections. No political opposition, just some critical thinking and disgruntled people. They are under the pressure, for example, authorities prevented them to do business.

Kokoity sees himself as a king, all issues can be solved only by him. We were told that a group of women tried to get a women's section in the public sauna. This was important because many residents of Tshivali didn't have hot water in their houses and city plumbing worked poorly. For some reason two public saunas worked only for men. So they could not do anything until they visited Kokoity personally.

At the same time, South Ossetia is slightly closer to anarchy than modern Russia for instance. First, people have

the experience of self-building their society. After the collapse of the USSR and the war with Georgia in 1992 a society had been by itself for a long time and left to solve its problems alone. The basis of the army was not contracts or forced recruitment, but units of combatants. Most men voluntarily served in such army. August 8 and 9, Ossetian military leadership failed to coordinate the defensive attack on the Georgians in Tskhinvali. Ossetian military waited for orders for several hours and then began independent and decentralized resistance to the Georgian troops who were in parts of the city where they were at that time. And it was quite successful. Also, it is important that for many years there was no government social assistance programs as the state was very poor. As a result, people are less accustomed to having hope for governmental help and therefore social networks of mutual support remained strong. Second, South Ossetia is a pre-industrial society, small-scale agriculture is well developed; it does not provide everything necessary for life but it does have a significant part. And people can produce more food than they need to exchange it for other stuff. Thirdly, a small society can better control their government than large.

Of course the Ossetian authorities want to control everything themselves and Kokoity is increasingly becoming a dictator - with the support of Russia. But for example, Kokoity is worrying a lot about what people say about him,

it confirms that he feels himself vulnerable. Recently he was invited to talk to the elderly combatant and started to abuse him because somebody informed Kokoity that this combatant call him dirty words. Combatant



answered: "When you run in Java during the bombing of Tskhinvali, everybody abused you by dirty words". Kokoity got worked up and nearly killed this man.

The main problem is that in recent years Russia has invested a lot of money in South Ossetia and society falling into the "drug dependence" on such assistance. Russia allocates money to the army of South Ossetia and combatant forces, provides pensions for retirees, salaries for employees of the social sphere, during the last month restores houses and infrastructure of Tskhinvali. 80% of men

aged 20 to 50 years serve in the military or combatant units. Some of them are working simultaneously on civil works but only a small part. The reason for this is the lack of jobs in the republic. The salaries in the army are above the average one - from \$240 to \$400 per month. This type of employment reduces the interest to learn among young people, they believe that will not find a job anyway. As a result there are a lot of young people in South Ossetia who have no skills other than militaristic. Furthermore, the independence of South Ossetia is becoming more formal with the growing economic dependence on Russia. As long as people in Ossetia value material wealth more than the independence, they support the government when it is looking for a source of material assistance on the outside.

Ossetians support the Russia policy also because they are tired of wars and want security. Many of them are advocates of joining South Ossetia in Russia as well as believing that Georgia will not send tanks and bomb the territory of another state. They also believe that the entry in Russia is a guarantee of permanent social assis-

tance in the future. We tried to give examples of the plight of the Caucasian republics of Russia - Ingushetia, Dagestan, Chechnya - where dissidents are killed, wages are low. But people feel that it is the lesser of evils.

The big problem is Ossetian nationalism. Incidentally, many Ossetians say that they are open to all nations except the Georgians. They give Georgians the most ghastly qualities, say "they were always such" and tell mythological stories about ancient origin of Ossetians who settled on this land much earlier than the Georgians. While at least for the last 7 centuries Georgians and Ossetians lived together in the territory of South Ossetia. Of course these views are reaction to the nationalist policy of the Georgian authorities and wars. I would like to believe that in time these ideas will cease to be relevant, but while there is no end in sight. Such sentiments are fueled by statements of Ossetian authorities about "genocide of the Ossetian people". (Of course, not all Georgians have left republic. But those Georgians who remained support Ossetian side in the conflict and

therefore belong to the "good, theirs Georgians".)

To show the role of national identity in Ossetia I will tell the story which was told to us in Tskhinvali. 5-year-old child playing in a war with other children. On the one side - the Georgians, on the other one - Ossetians. At some point the child comes to its mom and asked: "Mom, who am I, Georgian or Ossetian?" Mother answers: "I have said many times before. You are Armenian." The child understands that life is not easy, sits down and thinks. And then asked: "Well, but when I grow up I will become Ossetian?"

Despite the war, the people in South Ossetia have remained very open, friendly and ready for mutual aid. I would like to wish Ossetians peace, freedom and independence, not ephemeral but real. And remember that people are not divided by nationality, but are divided into good and bad.

*Report by A.K.,
"Autonomous Action"*

War in Georgia Speeds up Signing of Deal on Missile Base

American negotiators in Warsaw gave in to Poland's demands to provide the country with an arsenal of Patriot missiles in exchange for hosting a US Missile Base near Szupsk in the north of the country. The Polish government has been holding out on signing the deal in the hopes of improving their local arsenal. The situation in Georgia

has apparently convinced the US that they need to further militarise Poland.

Surveys have traditionally shown that over two-thirds of Poles were against the building of the American missile base in Poland. It is unknown whether this has changed in recent days due to the media bombardment of the populace with

comments that Russia poses a significant threat in the region.

The agreement is currently being drawn up but still has to be signed. Most politicians support the program of further militarization in Poland which includes the introduction of a professional army starting in 2010 and playing a more important military role in the region.

Condoleezza Rice in Prague

- Minister Schwarzenberg Hit with Tomatoes

On Tuesday the 8th of July a group of anarchists connected with CZECHOSLOVAK ANARCHIST FEDERATION (CSAF) welcomed the U.S. ministress of foreign affairs in front of the Cerninsky Palace in Prague. Rice and her Czech companion Karel Schwarzenberg "The Earl", signed a contract about building the U.S. Military radar base in the Czech Republic.

The anarchists showed up shouting: "Rice go home!" "Anarchists against the radar". The minister Schwarzenberg was also friendly welcomed by the anarchists - he was hit with tomatoes.

Later the "reception committee" joined the anarchist block during the demonstration of the alliance of "NE zakladnam" (NO to the bases). Around three thousands of people

took part in this demonstration. Making a lot of noise they went through the centre of the town down to the Prague castle and settled themselves near the place where the U.S. ministress banqueted with the Czech representatives of the government who are constantly and arrogantly overlooking the opinion of the majority of the people on the presence of U.S. army base.

Unnoticed News

AntiG8-2008 Protests in Minsk

July 9th, 2008 is the last day of the G8 sessions on the Hokkaido island in Japan. At this day anarchists from Minsk got together in a crowded place near the "Komarovka" market to show their protest against the politics of G8, to show the solidarity to Japanese and international activists, who are suffering from the repressions of police and other governmental institutions. Action was planned as well in order to attract attention of people and to inform them about this dubious meeting and the general courses of politics being led by the states-members of the G8.

The banner with label "No to G8!" was stretched. The guys distributed the leaflets and talked to the passing by. In the centre of the alley an imitation of the summit was performed: eight coloured fancy clowns in ridiculous clothes took on the masks with faces of the G8 state-members' leaders and sat down disturbing the

passing-by people. The clowns yelled, abused one another, threw around "dollars" made from paper and fought to get them. So they made lots of noise attracting the attention of people. Periodically they excused for photo sessions and running around the activists who photographed them and spread the leaflets.

The reaction of people was various: some of them willingly took the leaflets, the others passed by not paying attention or started to dispute to the activists. 250 leaflets were distributed, there were no problems with the police and under the shouts "Crush the great eight!" the clowns were forced out from the alley by the other participants of the action, what meant the symbolic dissolution of G8. Hooraay! There are 8 of them, and there are 6 million of us! They are not the ones to decide what the world will be!



Turkish Police Forces Stop Anarchists Protesting Shipyard Deaths

The Anarchist Bloc members protested the deaths at Tuzla Shipyards at Taksim Square. Police did not let them march to Galatasaray with their flags, banners and symbolic sandbags. Anarchist Bloc gathered at Taksim in Istanbul today (August 14) to protest the continuing deaths at the Tuzla Shipyards. The Anarchist Bloc members, fifteen in total, carried black flags and a banner saying "It is not

an accident, the murder of the bosses". The members chanted slogans, "The system of capital is the murderer of the workers", "Capitalism kills both in war and peace", and "It is not an accident, the murder of the bosses." They also put over their heads sandbags to protest the fact that the shipyard bosses chose to use workers instead of sandbags to test their product, the lifeboat.

as long as we do not show our reaction to the bosses, as long as we do not organize, they will continue stuffing our lives into sandbags."

Police Intervention

Police intervened when the crowd wanted to march towards Galatasaray, few minutes from the Taksim Square. When the Anarchist Bloc members asked the head of the police forces around them why their march was being stopped, the answer was they could walk without their flags, slogans and symbolic sandbags.

The group marched towards Galatasaray quietly, without raising their flags and banners. Once they were at Galatasaray, they raised their flags and banners, and chanted their slogans.



"The deaths in Tuzla Shipyards is like a game score"

Umut Kara read the press release:

"The human life has no value. The Tuzla news are presented like game scores in the media and the losers in this game are always the workers."

"As long as we are quiet,

Unknown Moments of Anarchist History

The Anarchist-Communist Mass Line - Bulgarian Anarchism Armed

By Michael Schmidt (ZACF, South Africa) with the assistance of veteran Bulgarian anarchist Jack Grancharoff.¹ Kindly proof-read by Will Firth.

In the early 20th Century, anarchism entrenched itself as a mass organisational movement in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland - anarchists having already been active in the 1873 uprisings in Bosnia and Herzegovina against Austro-Hungarian control. But it was primarily in Bulgaria and its neighbour Macedonia that a remarkable case of anarchist organising arose, in the midst of the power-play between the great powers. This poorly-studied movement not only blooded itself in national liberation struggles and armed opposition to both fascism and Stalinism, but developed a notably diverse and resilient mass movement, the first to adopt the controversial 1926 Platform of the Ukrainian Makhnovist exiles in Paris² as its lodestone. For these reasons it is vital that the revived anarchist-communist movement in the new millennium re-examine the legacy of the Balkans. This article, which begins mid-stream in 1919, is a version of an extract from the two-volume work on anarchism & syndicalism, Counter-Power, co-written by Lucien van der Walt, a global history and theory of the movement, which is due to be published in book form by AK Press in the USA in 2008.

The Federation of Anarchist Communists of Bulgaria (FAKB)

In the hot year of 1919, at the height of the global worker's revolt against capitalism, Bulgarian anarcho-syndicalists (the first groups having been established in 1910) and the core of the old Macedonian-Bulgarian Anarchist Federation (a nucleus of which had been founded in 1909) called for the movement to reorganise. The Federation of Anarchist Communists of Bulgaria (FAKB) was founded at a congress opened by the anarchist guerrilla Mikhail Gerdzhikov (1877-1947), a founder of the Macedonian Clandestine Revolutionary Committee (MTRK) in 1898 and commander of its Leading Combat Body during the 1903 Macedonian Revolt. His forces, only about 2,000 strong and armed with antique rifles, managed to defeat a Turkish garrison of 10,000 well-armed troops, setting up a liberated zone in the Strandzha Mountains of Thrace, centred on the Commune of Tsarevo (Vassiliko) - an action that was a key factor in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The FAKB founding congress was attended by 150 delegates - not counting those representing underground organs. The FAKB was organised as a clandestine federation of four regional anarchist-communist "unions" sub-divided into study groups, syndicalist groups and combat groups. Its membership was

restricted to militants only, but its public activity included propaganda tours of all cities and villages. The FAKB suspended the revived post-war Rabotnicheska Misl (Worker's Thought) and assigned the honour of its mouthpiece to Gerdzhikov's Probuda (Awakening), but also decided that each affiliate could run its own press. According to Grancharoff:

Anarchism succeeded in becoming a popular movement and it penetrated many layers of society from workers, youth and students to teachers and public servants. The underground illegal activities of the movement continued.

Thus the FAKB helped found, and worked alongside, organisations like the Bulgarian Federation of Anarchist Students (BONSF), as well as a federation of anarchist artists, writers, intellectuals, doctors and engineers, and the Federation of Anarchist Youth (FAM) which had branches in towns and villages and all the bigger schools. So it can be seen that the FAKB consisted of syndicalist, guerrilla, professional and youth sections which diversified themselves throughout Bulgarian society. During the 1919/1920 transport strike, the anarchists planned to arm the workers,

but the strike was betrayed by the leftist political parties and savagely crushed, with Probuda banned. A key FAKB militant was Georgi Sheytanov (1896-1925),³ called Sheitanoff by Grancharoff, who hailed from the eastern city of Yambol, became an anarchist as a teenager and was forced to flee into exile in France at the age of 17 after having escaped from the prison where he had been placed for burning the records of the local courthouse. Sheytanov returned to Bulgaria to carry on clandestine anarchist agitation in 1914, but was arrested and tortured, but escaped again, travelling to Moscow where he



Georgui Cheitanov: Writer, speaker & militant theorist of the Bulgarian anarchist movement

witnessed the 1917 revolution first-hand, and returning to Bulgaria in 1918 after having escaped a White firing squad in the Ukraine. In Bulgaria, Sheytanov became involved with the anarchist movement again and issued a famous Appeal to the Anarchists, and a Manifesto to Revolutionaries, an anarchist critique of Bolshevism.

In 1920, the social-democratic Bulgarian Agrarian Union (BZS) under Aleksandar Stamboliyski became Bulgaria's first socialist government, within the framework of the constitutional monarchy of Tsar Boris III, creating conditions for widespread popular self-activity. But as with the Social Democratic Party's "Noske Guards" in Germany, the BZS also established an "Orange Guard" as a strikebreaking force. The pro-Bulgarian right wing of the nationalist Internal Revolutionary Organisation of Macedonia (VMRO) rebuilt itself in 1920, and started agitating for the return of Macedonia to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP), which had developed out of the Tesni social-democrat faction which approximated the Bolsheviks, rose swiftly to become one of the largest in Europe, but still adhered to reformist tactics and had seats in the Bulgarian parliament. After Produda was banned in 1920, it was replaced as the FAKB's mouthpiece by The Anarchist, of Kyustendil, a large town to the south-west of Sofia. Meanwhile, Sheytanov published The Revolt clandestinely and Rabotnicheska Misl reappeared first as a magazine, but then took the name of Gerdzhikov's old paper Svobodno Obshtestvo (Free Society). In 1921 at the age of 15, another key militant, Georgi Grigoriev (1906-1996)* joined the FAKB. He would later write the definitive anarchist history of what he called "the Macedonian Revolution" * under the pseudonym Georges Balkanski while in exile in Paris.

The 1923 Fascist Coup & its Aftermath

In January 1923, the FAKB held its fifth annual congress - its first public, though still illegal, congress - in the city square at Yambol, attended by 104 delegates and 350 observers from 89 organisations, according to Grancharoff at page 5. The agenda included the internal and external situation, the questions of organisation, the peasantry, internationalism, the transition period, the dictatorship of the proletariat, propaganda, co-

operatives and syndicalism. Delegates reported that the working class of Yambol itself, of Kyustendil and Radomir to the west of Sofia, of the central village of Nova Zagora and the southern city of Khaskovo, and of Kilifarevo and Delebets were almost wholly affiliated to the anarchist movement and that great progress was being made in Sofia, the southern city of Plovdiv, the Black Sea port of Burgas, Russe and other centres. The Yambol public congress was so impressive that the circulation of anarchist journals surged upwards. But this popularity had not escaped the eyes of the reaction who were plotting a coup and persuaded the BZS to pass an "anti-bandit" law that target-



Manol Vassev Nicolov

ed the anarchists. In March 1923, Stamboliyski signed a pact with Yugoslavia recognising the new border and agreeing to suppress the VMRO. On March 26, an anarchist protest in Yambol against the disarming of the people under the anti-bandit law provided the right-wing with the excuse for a massacre.

According to Grancharoff, the military governor of the city forbade the anarchist meeting and stationed troops in the public square, but an anarchist orator stood on a bench and began speaking. The troops opened fire, injuring him and several other anarchists. A fierce battle lasting two hours between the anarchist forces and the two regiments stationed in the city was only ended when the military commander brought in an artillery regiment from a nearby town. Soldiers captured 26 anarchists who were machine-gunned at the barracks that night. Some 30 to 40 anarchists, including the key organiser and activist Todor Darzev, were killed that day, but one of the 26, the student Obretenov, had only been wounded, and creeping away, managed to raise the alarm. The following morning, troops raided the anarchist centre in

Sofia and arrested all present. On June 9, in a nationalist backlash to the Bulgarian-Yugoslav pact, fascist army officers belonging to the Military League, and backed by the tsar and the VMRO, staged a coup against the BZS government and killed Stamboliyski. At Kilifarevo, the anarchists united the communists and agrarians behind them and withstood assaults by the army for several days, and also briefly occupied the city of Drenovo and several towns at the foothills of the mountains.

The new government was a coalition of right-wing forces supported by the Narodisak, the party of big capital and lead by the notorious fascist Professor Aleksandr Tsankov, which gave the VMRO right wing de facto control of the Bulgarian portion of Macedonia (the left wing of the party, dissolved during World War I, was re-established in 1926 in Vienna as the VMRO United, but no longer had any anarchist content, being oriented towards the Bulgarian and Greek communist parties). Grancharoff writes that "the country turned into a slaughter-house," with perhaps 30,000 to 35,000 workers and peasants killed by right-wing forces between 1923 and 1931 - on a par with the Argentine dictatorship under Galtieri. The anarchist, communist and agrarian movements were forced underground and key anarchist militants like Nicola Dragnev were arrested and summarily executed. Some anarchists went into exile, producing Rabotnicheska Misl in Chicago. Others formed combat detachments known as cheti and were involved in an important attempt at a co-ordinated rising with the BKP in 1923 and in subsequent guerrilla activities. Grancharoff says that the BKP had initially not taken part in the struggle against fascism, taking the line that it was a struggle "between two bourgeoisies" - the people and the state! Scolded by Moscow, the party initiated the insurrection, but because the party tried to substitute itself for mass action, it was an adventurist failure. In 1923, Sheytanov published the underground newspaper Protest, and was later, in 1924, able to publish the legal weekly Zov (The Call), which became popular in academic circles, while also clandestinely publishing the paper Acratia (Anti-Authority).

The United Front & Guerrilla Warfare

Believing it was time to unite rank-and-file workers against fascism,

Sheytanov established contacts with communists, left agrarians and Macedonian federalists such as Todor Panitsa, founding the "literary" journal *Plamlak* (The Flame) to push this idea. But when the United Front was founded, it was a Comintern initiative and the FAKB-led anarchist movement rejected it as authoritarian. Grancharoff cites a Stalinist work, *The Rise, Development and the Setting of Opportunism in the Bulgarian Workers' Movement* (1986) as his source for the quote in his comment that:

With a few exceptions, anarchists had not accepted the Soviet Union as being a socialist country. And their argument was cogent: "In Russia as everywhere else, there is capitalism. It is stupid to think that the latter can exist without being defended by a government [even if in] Russia, this government is referred to as proletarian."

The existence of a large, organised anarchist-communist ideological and anarcho-syndicalist workers' movement with deep penetration into both the working class and intelligentsia must also explain why, unlike in Hungary and Czechoslovakia where many anarchists helped found communist parties in this period, few Bulgarian anarchists were attracted to the Bolshevik concept of revolution. The 1925 bombing of the St. Nedelya Cathedral in Sofia by a joint team of a radical BKP faction and BZS members – in response to the jailing and execution of many BKP leaders – killed 11 generals, the chief of police and the mayor of the city, and 140 other people. However, it brought down a reign of terror against the left, with 3,000 communists arrested and three executed. The FAKB, BKP and BZS united their guerrilla forces into a single detachment, but it was soon forced to disperse into smaller combat groups. Special police units were sent after Sheytanov and he and his comrades-

in-arms, the young anarchist actress Mariola Sirakova,⁶ were caught and executed along with 12 other prisoners at the Belovo railway station on June 2, 1925. The repression saw a large number of Bulgarian anarchists such as Grigoriev flee into exile in Yugoslavia, then France, where groups were established in the anarchist strongholds of Toulouse and Paris as well as Beziers. These groups set up an aid committee to support anarchist prisoners in Bulgaria and drafted a revolutionary programme for the FAKB. Influenced by the debate in France over the Makhnovist Platform from 1926 onwards – where a Bulgarian delegate known only as "Pavel" (perhaps Grigoriev) was among those who established the short-lived platformist International Anarchist Communist Federation (IACF) in 1927 – the FAKB adopted the Platform as its constitution.

"Vlassovden Syndicalism" & Anarchist Expansion

Meanwhile, the anarcho-syndicalist Manol Vassev Nicolov and a group of anarchist-communists from Khaskovo had been organising among the peasant tobacco farmers in the district, making use of traditional old rural mutual aid co-operatives called Vlassovden (after the feast-day of Vlas, an old pagan god). In 1930, they achieved success, with 600 delegates from across the country founding the Vlassovden Confederation – sometimes called the Vlassovden Union – at Khaskovo. The demands of the Vlassovden Confederation were radical, not revolutionary: the reduction of direct and indirect taxation, the breaking-up of agrarian cartels, free medical care for peasants, insurance and pensions for agricultural workers, and community autonomy. But "Vlassovden syndicalism" spread like wildfire and by 1931, the Vlassovden Confederation boasted 130 sections. Meanwhile the political situation was changing: in 1930, Grigoriev returned to Bulgaria to take advantage of an amnesty, and organised an underground FAKB cell in Sofia; in the same year, a fascist military organisation called Link (Zveno) was founded by army officers who were inspired by Mussolini and closely associated with the Military League.

In 1931, faced with rising anarchist-led demands for free speech and an amnesty for political "crimes", the right-wing regime was ousted

by a "People's Bloc" coalition of BZS agrarians, liberals and radicals. Before the election, in Bulgaria's first May Day celebration, the police attacked an anarchist student BOSF meeting and arrested eleven students. The BOSF demanded an end to clerical control of education and military recruitment on campus, demanding that "the priests and sergeants major be expelled from schools and universities and taxes abolished." The end of the regime saw a huge upsurge of anarchist organising and publishing so that the anarchist movement could be counted as the third largest force on the left, after the BZS then the BKP. In that year, according to one study, there were some 40 anarcho-syndicalist groups under the Anarcho-Syndicalist National Confederation of Labour (ASNCL), while the Bulgarian Federation of Autonomous Unions (BFAU) became the Bulgarian IWA section.⁷ In 1932, the FAKB held a clandestine national congress in the forest near Lovech which was chaired by Grigoriev which aimed at re-uniting the movement: *Rabotnicheska Misl* was re-established as the mouthpiece of the federation. Despite the leftist nature of the "People's Bloc", the anarchist movement was still persecuted: shootings, arrests and imprisonment were common.

The 1934 Fascist Coup & its Aftermath

In 1934, fascist Zveno leaders Colonel Kimon Georgiev and Colonel Damyan Velchev staged a coup and established an authoritarian regime with Georgiev as prime minister, outlawing all political parties, corporatising the trade unions like the ANSCL, BFAU and Vlassovden Confederation – from which the latter never recovered – and waging war on the FAKB and BKP. Also in 1934, the rightist VMRO assassinated King Alexander of Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Louis Bartou in Marseilles in collaboration with the Croatian fascist Ustaše. The international outrage the assassination provoked forced the Zveno regime to suppress the VMRO. The regime also banned anarchist papers such as *Svobodno Obshtestvo* – but it reappeared as a monthly entitled *New World* edited by Petar Lozanov, while the paper *Compass* managed to remain in circulation. A counter-coup in 1935 backed by the tsar saw Georgiev ousted and monarchist Zveno leader General Zlato Panchev installed, soon to be replaced by a civilian monarchist dictatorship.



But the anarchist, communist and agrarian movements still had to operate underground – with the remnants of its press banned – while the pro-communist VMRO United collapsed in 1936.

An example of a typical Bulgarian anarchist of this period is found in the police file (compiled later under Soviet occupation) of the miner, farmhand and locomotive fitter Alexander Metodiev Nakov (1919-1962),* who came from a poor family in the village of Kosatcha in the department of Pernik. Becoming an anarchist in 1937, Nakov launched an anarcho-syndicalist group in the Machinostroitel factory in Pernik and was later to serve time in both a fascist prison and a Soviet concentration camp. The Stalinist police described him despairingly as “a fanatical anarchist” – but also a “fine worker”, with “a good overall political grounding” who was well-read and an Esperantist. At the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution in 1936, some 30 Bulgarian anarchists including Grigoriev went to fight in the militia. Grigoriev represented the FAKB at the CNT-FAI congress in free Spain in November that year. The revolutionary challenge to fascism finally forced the dispersed anarchist movement to rally again at the FAKB's final pre-war congress, held at Vitosha in August 1936. Despite their many jailings in concentration camps, the anarchists also managed to circulate the mimeographed *Khleb i Svoboda* (Bread and Freedom) during 1936-1939. In 1938, the BKP attempted to appeal to a broader audience, renaming itself the Bulgarian Workers' Party (BRP), until reverting to its Stalinist colours in 1948. Returning to Bulgaria in 1939, Grigoriev was arrested and spent the war years in prison then a concentration camp.

War & Red-Orange-Brown Collaboration

In 1940, a manifesto by the FAKB railed against the intrigues of the Comintern in first allying with the Nazis, then opposing them, accusing the communist BRP, by supporting the Allied war effort, according to Grancharoff, of having:

...committed a historical crime by restoring the credit of the bankrupt bourgeois slogans, gonfalons [medieval military and ecclesiastical flags] and institutions for constitution, democracy, love of peace... patriotism and nationalism...

Bulgaria aligned with the Nazis in 1941 and the anarchist movement fought a guerrilla war against Nazi forces stationed in Bulgaria as well as the Bulgarian fascists: as Grancharoff puts it, “situated between hammer and anvil, they courageously fought against fascism and paid dearly for it.” Popular resistance, in fact, saved all of Bulgaria's Jews from deportation to the Nazi extermination camps. In Macedonia itself, a Communist Party of Macedonia (MCP) was only founded in 1943. The anarchist



Jack Grancharoff "Jack the Anarchist" speaking at the Sydney Domain - 1950s, shortly after arriving from Bulgaria

movement operated a powerful guerrilla force by the closing phases of the war in what was still mostly an agrarian society. The anarchist movement, which had fought a long guerrilla campaign against the fascists, grew rapidly and helped the Fatherland Front stage the successful insurrection of the 9th of September 1944 against the Nazi forces stationed in Bulgaria. Indeed, they were arguably strong enough to pose a serious alternative, but the strength of the Fatherland Front – consisting of the communist BRP, a faction of the socialist BZS and the military fascist Zveno movement – which had also fought as partisans against the Nazis, proved formidable. In late 1944, the BRP had only 15,000 members, but when the Red Army replaced the Germans as an occupying force, the Bulgarian communists took advantage of the situation, forming a Fatherland Front government headed by Zveno leader Kimon Georgiev, the army colonel who had staged the fascist coup a mere decade earlier in 1934. This Red/Orange/Brown alliance – what Grancharoff calls “the unity between National Socialism and communism” – immediately went to work to repress the anarchists, other political tendencies and the working class. Workers were forced to join a

single state “trade union” – as before under Georgiev's rule, which was modelled on Mussolini's Italy – and piecework was introduced. Nevertheless, organisations such as the Southwest Bulgarian Anarchist Union and the *Elisée Reclus* Group in Pernik were formed by militants such as Nakov.

The Stalinist Regime

The FAKB called a congress at Knezevo, in the capital Sofia, in 1945 to discuss the repression, but communist militia arrested all 90 delegates and put them into forced labour camps. This did not stop the organisation from producing an important anarchist-communist Platform. Anarchist locals were forcibly shut down and the revived FAKB organ *Rabotnicheska Misal* (Workers' Thought) was forced to suspend publication after only eight issues. It reappeared briefly during communist-rigged elections held in 1945 under American and British pressure, surging from a circulation of 7,000 to 60,000 before being banned again. The next annual congress of the FAKB in 1946 had to take place clandestinely. In 1946, the Zveno leader Georgiev was replaced by the communist Georgi Dimitrov, the Zveno and BZS factions within the Fatherland Front were dissolved, the monarchy was abolished and Bulgaria became a supposed “People's Republic”. The agrarians of the BZS refused to co-operate and in 1947 (the year of the anarchist veteran Gerdzhikov's death), the BZS leader Nikola Petkov was executed by the communists. In 1948, the last mass round-up of anarchists netted 600 militants who were sent to concentration camps such as Cuciyan (near Pernik, called by its inmates the “Caresses of Death”), Bogdanovo (called the “Camp of Shadows”), Nojarevo, Tadorevo and Bosna – and the BRP was merged with the Fatherland Front to transform it into an ersatz mass “communist” party claiming 460,000 members.

By that date, hundreds had been executed and about 1,000 FAKB members sent to concentration camps where the torture, ill treatment and starvation of veteran (but non-communist) anti-fascists – some of whom had fought fascism for almost 30 years – was almost routine. Anarchist prisoners were singled out and worked to death, being forced to work 36-hour shifts compared to the 12-16-hour shifts of other inmates. A partial list of 33 detained anarchists released that year by those working

underground in Bulgaria is revealing in terms of its class composition: eleven school and university students; four urban anarcho-syndicalist workers including a technician; four teachers including a schools inspector; four rural workers (remnants of the Vlassovden syndicalist movement); three print-workers; two journalists including Georgi Dimitroff Kurtov (Karamikaylov), the often-detained editor of *Rabotnicheska Misa*; a librarian; and several others whose occupations are not given. The youngest whose age was given was 21, presumably politicised under fascism, and the oldest 49, the tobacco worker Manol Vashev Nicolov, who had initiated Vlassovden syndicalism in 1930. Most had been imprisoned or even sentenced to death by the fascists, three were former guerrilla fighters, and one had been involved in a military conspiracy against the fascists. As Grancharoff says:

The dark veil of communism used to entomb anarchism was also the same that buried ... genuine communism and all revolutionary hopes for the emancipation and liberation of the downtrodden.

While a dedicated anarchist underground run by militants like Nakov kept operating well into the 1980s, many Bulgarian anarchists such as the key militant Georgi Grigoriev fled into exile in France – where exile formations of the FAKB were established, as well as an umbrella Bulgarian Libertarian Union (BLU) which embraced all anarchist tendencies from that country. Grigoriev, who wrote a history of the Bulgarian anarchist movement and a study of the interplay between national liberation and social revolution in the Balkans, would play a key role in re-establishing the BLU as the synthesist Federation of Bulgarian Anarchists (FAB) after the collapse of communist rule in 1989 and in ensuring its adherence to the International of Anarchist Federations. In 2008, the FAB still publishes its newspaper *Svobodna Misl* (Free Thought) as a monthly. Today, other anarchist organisations in Bulgaria include the Anarchist Front (AF), the Autonomous Anarchist Group “Anarchoresistance” (ABDA) with its paper *Anarkhosprotiva* (Anarchoresistance), the anarcho-syndicalist Bulgarian Confederation of Labour (BKT) which is an IWA section, founded in 1991 by militants such as Nikola Mladenov Totorov, and the revived Federation of Anarchist Youth (FAM).¹⁰

The Legacy of Bulgarian Platformism

On the plane of theory, I would argue that a long-neglected Bulgarian document should be regarded as another cornerstone of the platformist tradition after the Platform itself: the 1945 Platform of the Federation of Anarchist Communists of Bulgaria.¹¹ Only recently translated into English, this Platform repudiated fascism, democracy, the state and capital, and reaffirmed an anarchist communist mass line of the total eradication of private property and the full socialisation of the means of production under working class control. The FAKB Platform went on to deal with the crucial issues of tactics and organisation, rejecting the form of the political party as “sterile and ineffective, unable to respond to the goals and the immediate tasks and to the interests of the



Mikhail Gerdzhikov
(1877-1947)

workers,” but speaking in favour of “the true strength of the workers”, “the economy and their economic organisations. Only there lies the terrain where capitalism can be undermined. Only there lies the true class struggle.” On organisation, the FAKB stated that several types of working class organisation were indispensable and intertwined without subordination: anarchist communist ideological organisations; worker syndicates; agricultural worker syndicates; co-operatives; and cultural and special-interest organisations, for instance for youth and women. Of these, the FAKB Platform noted that:

It is above all necessary for the partisans of anarchist communism to be organised in an anarchist communist ideological organisation. The tasks of these organisations are: to develop, realise and spread anarchist communist ideas; to study the

vital present-day questions affecting the daily lives of the working masses and the problems of the social reconstruction; the multifaceted struggle for the defence of our social ideal and the cause of working people; to participate in the creation of groups of workers on the level of production, profession, exchange and consumption, culture and education, and all other organisations that can be useful in the preparation for the social reconstruction; armed participation in every revolutionary insurrection; the preparation for and organisation of these events; the use of every means which can bring on the social revolution. Anarchist communist ideological organisations are absolutely indispensable in the full realisation of anarchist communism both before the revolution and after.

Such anarchist communist organisations were to be federated across a given territory, “co-ordinated by the federal secretariat” – but the “local organisation” remained the basic policy-making unit and both local and federal secretariats were “merely liaison and executive bodies with no power” beyond executing the decisions of the locals or federation of locals. The FAKB Platform emphasised the ideological unity of such organisations, stating that only convinced anarchist communists could be members, and that decision-making must be by consensus achieved by both persuasion and practical demonstration – not by majority vote (the latter being the method applicable to syndicalist and other forms of organisation, with allowances made for dissenting minorities). Anarchist communist militants, so organised, participated directly in both syndicalist unions and mainstream unions, arguing their positions, defending the immediate interests of the class and learning how to control production in preparation for the social revolution. Militants also participated directly in co-operatives, “bringing to them the spirit of solidarity and of mutual aid against the spirit of the party and bureaucracy” – and in cultural and special-interest organisations which support the anarchist communist idea and the syndicalist organisations. All such organisations related to each other on the basis of “reciprocal dependence” and “ideological communality”.

Lessons from the Bulgarian Experience

I would argue that here we have a movement that started out looking quite similar to many of its contemporaries, particularly in colonised territories: small propaganda cells of anarchist militants establishing underground presses and raising the temperature of the class struggle. The parallels with the early movements of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary are of course there, but the Bulgarians in particular parted ways quite early on from those trajectories by throwing themselves directly into the Macedonian liberation war of 1903. For all the criticisms levelled at these anarchist guerrillas – and the strategy of launching a largely rural war without a peasant organisational base, relying instead on the vagaries of peasant sympathies, is one of the strongest – this baptism of fire not only hardened the Bulgarians for the struggles to come, but in real terms precipitated the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In less than ideal conditions of almost continual war from 1911-1918, followed by the hammer-blows of two successful fascist coups in 1923 and 1934, the Bulgarian anarchist movement built itself into a formidable force, the third-largest on the left, using worker disenchantment with agrarian and communist reformism to build a plethora of urban syndicalist unions, then penetrating all layers of society with a phalanx of interlinked professional, worker, student and even guerrilla organs. It even managed to bridge the urban-rural divide by organising the peasantry along syndicalist lines that were uniquely their own. This was above all a social movement – but one that had significant ideological clarity to fend off the lure of Bolshevism, and one that was organised, and able to defend itself by force of arms.

That clarity came, I suggest, by the FAKB's adherence to the platformist concept of the specific organisation working – as the Makhnovist's had – within a broad front of revolutionary libertarian socialist social forces. By doing so, the FAKB was not merely orienting itself geographically eastwards towards neighbouring insurgent Ukraine with its flexible, plural approach towards the revolution, rather than westwards towards the Bolshevik-compromised anarchist movements of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, but politically towards the task of grabbing the bull by the horns and taking up the necessary tools to build tomorrow's society today. It

seems the Platform served the FAKB specifically, but the movement in general, very well given the challenges of fascist corporatism, guerrilla war, fascist-Stalinist rule, and some 40 years of productive exile. And despite the slander of sectarianism often thrown at platformist organisations by synthesists, the FAKB, as shown by its 1945 Platform was a staunch supporter of the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers' Association (IWA) – founded in Berlin in 1922 representing some 2 million workers – and so was its descendant, the FAB, so the anarchist-communists clearly never relinquished the mass line, regardless of either repression or their own adoption of defensive guerrilla war.

Other than the Makhnovist Revolutionary Insurgent Army of the Ukraine (RIAU) itself, which peaked at 500,000 members, the closest corresponding mass anarchist-communist organisation to my mind that combined such a range of worker, peasant, student, intellectual and social formations including guerrilla forces were those of the pre-war/wartime Korean Anarchist Communist Federation (KACF) of 1929-1945 and the post-war Uruguayan Anarchist Federation (FAU) of 1956-1976. But

key KACF militants joined the Korean provisional government in 1940, and the FAU fell into insurgency, flirting with Guevarist adventurism in the early 1970s, before finally clearing its head of the Marxist fog and embracing *especificismo* (the Latin American form of specific organisation which is often close to platformism) in 1985. So it seems fair to say that the FAKB takes the honours as one of the best-organised and enduring of all anarchist-communist organisations, even if its current incarnation as the FAB is (of necessity, perhaps, for a rebuilding movement) synthesist. What role did the FAKB and its sister organisations play in laying the social groundwork for the remarkable historical feat of the refusal of Bulgaria's people to allow the deportation of their Jewish neighbours, resulting in the rescue of every single one of Bulgaria's 48,000 Jews during the war? These facets have yet to be explored: the Bulgarian movement clearly needs further intensive study, but it would appear that few movements have had such a tough history. And that few have met the challenge so brilliantly.

Unknown Moments of Anarchist History

Notes:

1. *The Bulgarian Anarchist Movement*, Jack Grancharoff, unpublished manuscript kindly written especially for the ZACF, Quamaa, Australia, 2006. This document provides the connecting tissue for what was otherwise an intriguing, yet obscure movement.
2. *The Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*, Nestor Makhno, Ida Mett and others of the Workers' Cause exile group in Paris, France, 1926. This key anarchist-communist text reaffirms the historical majority tendency – of the mass-organisational line, which includes "political" (ideological), "social" (community) and syndicalist (union) organising – against both the adventurism of the minority insurgent line, and anti-anarchist individualist posturing. It can be found among the documents in the extensive Nestor Makhno Archive online at: www.nestormakhno.info. It is also downloadable from the Zabalaza Books website as a fully laid out pamphlet.
3. *Gueorgui Cheitanov, 1896-1925*, Nick Heath, Anarchist Federation, UK, undated, online at: www.libcom.org/articles/history/1896-1925-gueorgui-sheytanov/index.php
4. *Georgi Grigoriev, 1906-1996*, (aka Georges Balkanski), Nick Heath, Anarchist Federation, UK, undated, online at www.libcom.org/history/articles/1906-1996-georgi-grigoriev/index.php
5. *Liberation Nationale et Liberation Sociale: l'Exemple de la Revolution Macedonienne*, Georges Balkanski (Georgi Grigoriev), Collection Anarchiste, Federation Anarchiste, Paris, France, undated. This book is the primary French-language anarchist analysis of the Macedonian national question.
6. *Mariola Sirakova, 1904-1925*, Nick Heath, Anarchist Federation, UK, undated, online at: www.libcom.org/history/articles/1904-1925-mariola-sirakova/index.php
7. *Bulgaria: The New Spain* (available for download from the ZEPsite)
8. *Alexander Metodiev Nakov, 1919-1962+*, anonymous, Bulgarian Libertarian Union in exile, Paris, France, undated, online at: www.libcom.org/history/articles/1919-1962-alexander-metodiev-nakov/index.php
9. *Bulgaria: The New Spain*
10. References to these organisations can be found under their relevant country entry at the reasonably accurate Broadleft web-portal: www.broadleft.org
11. *Platform of the Federation of Anarchist Communists of Bulgaria*, *Federatsia na Anarkho Komunistite ot Bulgaria*, 1945, English translation by Nestor McVab, EdCA, Italy, 2006. This excellent mass-organisational position statement deserves, in the author's view, to take pride of place in the platformist theoretical pantheon.

Platform of the Federation of Anarchist Communists of Bulgaria, 1945

(Federatsia na Anarkho Komunistite ot Bulgaria - FAKB)

Basic Positions

We reject the present social system of State and capitalist centralisation, as it is founded on the principle of the State, which is contrary to the initiative and freedom of the people. Every form of power involves economic, political or spiritual privilege. Its application on an economic level is represented by private property, on a political level by the State and on a spiritual level by religion. These three forms of power are linked. If you touch one, the others are changed and, inversely, if you keep one form of power, it will inevitably lead to the re-establishment of the other two. This is why we repudiate the very principle of power.

We are supporters of the abolition of private property, of the State and of religion, and of the total suppression of every form and institution of constraint and violence. We reject every teaching and every social, political and economic-political movement aimed at maintaining the State, private property, the church, and constraint and violence in social relations.

We repudiate fascism, which is a historic attempt to restore absolutism, autocracy and the strength of the political form of power with the aim of defending the economic and spiritual dominance of the privileged classes.

We reject political democracy, as it does not foresee the disappearance of the principle of power, and drives the masses to bewilderment by leading them, through lies and illusions, into fights which are against their interests, and corrupts them through the exercise of power and the maintaining of the appetite for domination. Political democracy, furthermore, shows that it is totally incapable of solving the great social problems and that it fosters chaos, contradictions and crime as a result of its social foundations based on the centralised State and capitalism.

We repudiate State socialism as it leads to State capitalism - the most monstrous form of economic exploitation and oppression, and of total domination of social and individual freedom.

We are for anarchist communism or free communism, which will replace private property with the complete socialisation of lands, factories and mines, and of all goods and instruments of production. The State will be replaced by a federation of free communes regionally, provincially, nationally and internationally united. The church and religion will be replaced by a free individual moral and a scientific vision.

Unlike all other socio-economic and political concepts and organisations, Anarchist Communism is federalist.

The new social organisation that will replace the State will be built and run from the bottom upwards. All the inhabitants of any given village will form the local free commune, and all the local free communes will unite regionally, provincially, nationally and internationally in unions and federations and in a universal general social confederation.

The new organisation of society's production will be formed by a tight network of countless local agricultural enterprises, artisans, mines, industry, transport, etc., united on a regional, provincial, national and international level in production unions and federations as part of a general confederation of production.

Society's new organisation of exchange, consumption and supply will likewise be represented by a dense and complex network of regional, provincial and national organisations, unions and federations, grouped in a general confederation of exchange and consumption for satisfying the needs of all inhabitants.

All human social activity and all transport, communications, education, healthcare, and so on, will be organised in a similar fashion.

With this organisational system of all the functions of the various aspects of social life, there will be no place in society for the power of one individual over another or for the exploitation of one by another.

The basic principle of production and distribution for the building of the new social system will be: everyone will produce according to their possibilities and everyone will receive according to their needs.

Tactics

The realisation of this social ideal of equality, solidarity and freedom can only be brought about

by the united workers and peasant masses, inspired by anarchist communism and organised into ideological, professional, exchange and consumption, cultural and educational groups.

Anarchist communism, while repudiating the State, rejects the involvement of the workers in the administration bodies and institutions of the State, in the parliament and in any vote for the official management of the State.

As the sole means of efficient struggle, as a defence of the immediate interests of the working masses, and for the realization of the full ideal of humanity's freedom, anarchism recognizes only the direct action of the workers themselves, initiated by their economic organisations and expressed through strikes, sabotage, boycotts, general strikes, insurrections and the social revolution. In consequence, anarchism rejects all forms of organisation and struggle by political parties, considering them sterile and ineffective, unable to respond to the goals and the immediate tasks and to the interests of the workers in the towns and villages. The true strength of the workers is in the economy and their economic organisations. Only there lies the terrain where capitalism can be undermined. Only there lies the true class struggle.

Organisation

The radical social re-organisation demanded by anarchist communism requires the organisational action of all the forces on whom this historical task is incumbent.

It is above all necessary for the partisans of anarchist communism to be organised in an anarchist communist ideological organisation.

The tasks of these organisations are:

- * to develop, realize and spread anarchist communist ideas;
- * to study all the vital present-day questions affecting the daily lives of the working masses and the problems of the social reconstruction;
- * the multifaceted struggle for the defence of our social ideal and the cause of working people;
- * to participate in the creation of groups of workers on the level of production, profession, exchange and consumption, culture and education, and all other organisations that can be useful in the preparation for the social reconstruction;
- * armed participation in every revolutionary insurrection;
- * the preparation for and organisation of these events;
- * the use of every means which can bring on the social revolution.

Anarchist communist ideological organisations are absolutely indispensable in the full realization of anarchist communism both before the revolution and after.

These organisations are formed on a local level. Every local organisation chooses a secretary, whose task is to keep in contact with other similar organisations. The secretaries of all the organisations of one locality with a certain number of inhabitants constitute the general organisation of the locality. All the local organisations unite, by region and province, in regional and provincial unions. Contact between the unions is assured by the respective secretaries. All the provincial unions of the country are united in the federation of anarchist communists of Bulgaria. Activities are co-ordinated by the federal secretariat. The members of each secretariat form part of the local organisation in their area of residence, and it is obligatory for every initiative of theirs to pass through the local organisation, and therefore be considered an initiative of the latter. The secretariats are merely liaison and executive bodies with now power.

Only anarchist communists can be members of the anarchist communist ideological organisations.

A second type of organisation is the workers' syndicate, also based on the federative principle, organised by workplace or by trade, and united into production or trade unions in a general federation of workers' syndicates.

These organisations, created with the participation of anarchist communists, adopt the tactic of direct action and reject the struggles of political parties and all interference by political parties in the workers' organisations.

Their tasks are:

- * the defence of the immediate interests of the working class;
- * the struggle to improve the work conditions of the workers;
- * the study of the problems of production;
- * the control of production, and the ideological, technical and organisational preparation of a radical social reconstruction, in which they will have to ensure the continuation of industrial output.

All workers who accept their structure, tactics and tasks may be members of these organisations.

When conditions do not permit the existence of such organisations, anarchist communist workers join other independent syndicalist workers' organisations, while defending their concept of direct

action and their anti-party position. The ORPS 1 would appear to be such an organisation today.

A third type of organisation must group the peasantry. This is the locally-created agricultural labour organisation, united on a regional, provincial and national level in a general federation which, together with the federation of workers' syndicates, make up the national confederation of labour.

The tasks of these agricultural labour organisations are:

- ★ to defend the interests of the landless peasants, those with little land and those with small parcels of land;
- ★ to organise agricultural production groups, to study the problems of agricultural production;
- ★ to prepare for the future social reconstruction, in which they will be the pioneers of the re-organisation and the agricultural production, with the aim of ensuring the subsistence of the entire population.

The agricultural labour organisations are built on the basis of sector and reject all struggles by political parties and their interference in the organisations. They apply the tactic of direct action, whenever possible, in their specific conditions, including refusing to pay taxes, boycotting the State, production strikes, etc.

The members of these organisations can be landless peasants, those with little land and those with small parcels of land, who work the land themselves without the use of wage labour.

When the conditions to create such organisations do not exist, anarchist communist peasants join other similar labour organisations, with the aim of promoting within them their vision of direct action and struggle against political parties and the tactic of peasant direct action. The OZPS² could be considered such an organisation.

A fourth type of organisation is the co-operative. Anarchist communists participate in all types of co-operatives, bringing to them the spirit of solidarity and of mutual aid against the spirit of the party and bureaucracy. Agricultural production co-operatives today merit special attention, as they will become more important and will play a decisive educational role in the future construction of an anarchist communist social system.

Another type of organisation are those of young people, women, temperance groups, Esperantists and other cultural organisations whose members support the ideas and the struggles of the anarchist communist ideological and economic organisations of the working people.

Relations between the aforementioned organisations are on a functional basis, that recognizes the full freedom and independence of the members and the organisations, and excludes all external interference and all subordination of one organisation to another. The reciprocal dependence between the various types of organisation can only be based on their ideological commonality and unity, the common goal to which they all aspire.

Organisational decisions within anarchist communists organisations are made unanimously, and not by majority. The decision of the majority is not binding on the minority; persuasion should always be sought. In practice, the minority generally rallies to the decision of the majority, which reserves the right to express the correctness of its position, once it has been demonstrated in fact. Thanks to this principle, which is widely applied within the anarchist movement, splits, enmities and arguments are rare.

However, within the mass economic organisations and the other organisations, decisions are taken by majority vote and are binding, as only in this way can unity be achieved, unity that is absolutely indispensable in mass organisations. But in certain cases where there is profound disagreement, the minority may be freed from the obligation to apply a general decision, on condition that it does not prevent the execution of such a decision.

All the aforementioned organisations share the common task of preparing the radical social reconstruction throughout the country. During the social revolution, they will each carry out (within their own domain) the expropriation and socialisation of the means of production and of all goods.

Immediate Tasks

At present, the Federation of Anarchist Communists of Bulgaria has adopted the following slogans:

- ★ The creation of free worker and peasant local councils and committees elected directly and not as representative of political parties, organised and controlled by the people. These councils and committees must take completely in hand, or control, the political direction of the country.
- ★ The role of these councils and committees is to express the wishes of the working masses and of co-ordinating the efforts of all in order to construct a complete social system and ensure it's functioning. They are united on local, regional and national levels and represent the whole people's political force, thought and will.
- ★ The adoption by Bulgarian workers and peasants of the International Workers' Association, to defend the worldwide interests of all working people and impede any forthcoming war.
- ★ The clear and categorical rejection of all forms of class collaboration.
- ★ Recognition of the right of workers to struggle freely to defend their material interests, to improve

their conditions and to strike.

- ★ Workers' control of production and a share of the benefits.
- ★ The reduction of wage differences between the various categories of civil servants, State workers and private sector workers, tending towards the introduction of a family wage.
- ★ Exemption from all taxes for workers, low-level employees, small peasants and all low-paid levels of society.
- ★ Free and voluntary agricultural co-operative associations.
- ★ Free and voluntary co-operation between small artisan enterprises.
- ★ Progression towards a complete co-operative system of exchange, food supply and consumption, and towards co-operative development to include domestic and foreign trade and social security.
- ★ Increases in the prices of agricultural production up to an average level and a reduction to the same level of the prices of industrial products, based on real retail prices and a just and egalitarian remuneration for labour in the towns and countryside.
- ★ Organisation of the struggle against speculation and the black market by the labour associations, producers' associations, exchange and consumption associations and by the public naming of all speculators and traffickers.
- ★ The creation and development of regular, high-quality commercial relations throughout the country, with the rapid satisfaction of needs with regard to basic essentials, such as clothing and footwear, through foreign imports.
- ★ The financial stabilisation of the country with a streamlining of the bureaucratic apparatus, with a real (not provisional) State budget and economy, with the complete elimination of all unnecessary spending (such as the costs of war), and with a real increase (not just a demagogic one) in the national production.
- ★ Complete freedom of speech, of the press and of organisation and assembly for all non-fascists. The suppression of all State and police control - left over from the fascist period - of co-operatives, trade unions and other organisations. The government must fulfil its promises in this regard.
- ★ Opposition to all dictatorships of whatever name or colour.
- ★ Suppression of the death penalty and of all special laws.
- ★ The disappearance of all concentration and labour camps or workhouses with the aim of punishing; dissolution of the forced labour system, applied as a police method.
- ★ Struggle against the remnants of fascism and vigilance against all activity against the people, under the aegis of the various labour, production and ideological organisations of the workers and peasants.
- ★ The grouping of all worker and democratic elements into egalitarian military unions in order to resist strongly and effectively the growing reaction.
- ★ War reparations to be made by war criminals.
- ★ The dissolving of the army, the suppression of obligatory military service and the militaristic education of young people both inside and outside schools.
- ★ The creation of a voluntary popular militia (not controlled by any party), recruitment to which will be solely effected from among the workers and peasants, and controlled by the worker-peasant organisations.
- ★ Full scientific teaching and education, free of all political party and class influence, widely available to the new generations.
- ★ Free, widely available healthcare for everyone.
- ★ The total exclusion of all religious interference from teaching and the family.
- ★ Aid to the population under the control of the labour, production and ideological organisations of the workers and peasants.
- ★ Bread, freedom, peace and jobs for all workers and the progressive layers of the Bulgarian people.

***Long live the International Solidarity
of the Workers!***

Long live Anarchist Communism!

Platform of the FAKB taken from the website of the
Fondation Pierre Besnard
www.fondation-besnard.org

Translation from French by Nestor McNab of the
Nestor Makhno Archive
www.nestormakhno.info

A Short Biography of Grigorii Gorelik aka Anatolii (1889-1956), Ukrainian Anarchist Participant in the Russian Revolution

Grigorii Gorelik, usually known as Anatolii Gorelik was born into a Jewish family in 1889. He became an anarchist in 1904, at the age of fourteen. He was active in the Ukraine, and was arrested several times by the Tsarist police. In 1909 he fled to France. He returned secretly to Russia in 1911 then returned to France where he was active in the anarcho-syndicalist movement. In 1913 he emigrated to the USA and was a propagandist with the IWW and the Union of Russian Workers. In 1916 he founded the first Russian syndicalist paper *Workers' Word Rabochaia Mysl'* in New York with Kornuk, which later became *Golos Truda* (The Voice of Labour). He worked as a teacher. He returned from exile in the United States in 1917, and was active at Ekaterinoslav and in the Donetsk basin where he served as secretary of the Donetsk Anarchist Bureau. He then joined the Nabat confederation of anarchists and was active in a Nabat group in Melitopol. He wrote later about these experiences: "At Ekaterinoslav, delegates of several hundred villages came to see me, asking me to give them instructions and to understand how to construct the new life; the Commune. Never would I have suspected such a thirst for knowledge

and light in the Ukrainian peasantry". He describes how he undertook correspondence with 1,400 villages as secretary of the anarchist bureau. Equally he describes the extraordinary influence of anarchist ideas amongst the workers of the Donetsk basin. He was co-editor with Peter



Arshinov of *Golos Anarkhista* (Anarchist Voice) in Ekaterinoslav in 1918.

He continued to work underground under the Austro-German occupation and then counter-revolutionary Denikin's advance. He was secretary of the Office of Information for Anarchist Propaganda in Hebrew. In 1920 he worked at the commissariat of public instruction in the Ukraine. He was arrested after the breakdown

of the treaty between the Bolsheviks and the Makhnovists at Kharkov with other Nabat members - Voline, Fanya Baron, Mratchny, Olga Taratuta, Yarchuk etc. - and sent off to prison in Moscow in November 1920. He was freed on 6 January 1921 and he continued with anarchist propaganda in Moscow, above all in the universities. He was rounded up on 8 March during the Kronstadt insurrection (www.libcom.org/tags/kronstadt). He was condemned to 3 years in the concentration camps as an "anarcho-counterrevolutionary". He was imprisoned up to 17 September and after ten days of hunger strike and the scandal at the Congress of the Red Union International (Profintern) was finally expelled with ten other anarchists. In Berlin in March 1922 he wrote his memoir of the Revolution - *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, where he details the influence of anarchism among the Russian masses. He fell out with other Nabat members in exile in Berlin and emigrated to Buenos Aires, at the invitation of the FORA (<http://www.libcom.org/tags/fora>) where a new *Golos Truda* group had been formed in 1919. He died there in 1956.

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No Border Camp in Turkey

The Aegean Coast of Turkey is very close to Greece and many Greek Islands; it is one of the external borders of the European Union. Groups of refugees, seeking a close and relatively easy route, try to cross the sea, especially at night. Turkey has long land borders with countries like Syria, Iran and Iraq and refugees, especially from these last two countries, are among those trying to get across the sea. There is also a large number of refugees from Somalia, Mauritania, Eritrea, Pakistan and Palestine who made

their way to Turkey. Recently even refugees from as far away as Burma have been caught trying to leave Turkey for the EU. Turkey, who is still talking with the EU about possible accession or at least having permanent "special relations", is coming under increasing pressure and is receiving more and more money to police the borders and to stop the refugees before they can even make their way to the sea.

In the beginning of September, first No Border Camp was held in Turkey and brought together peo-

ple who oppose the border regime and who would like to take some action.

In the month prior to the camp, a few round-ups of refugees took place in Turkey. At the beginning of June, the police and coastguards conducted an operation over 10 days around Didim. They arrested a total of 250 people without documents coming from Palestine, Iraq, Mauritania and Somalia. On the grounds that it is too hot and that the streets are blocked, these people, including 4 women and two

children, were detained in the stadium in Didim. On June 14, people tried, unsuccessfully, to escape. Within days of this, they also stopped 16 people in a boat going to Samos, 15 people in a truck near Didim and 20 in a border town near Greece. These are just some of the examples of the round-ups being made these days in Turkey.

In order to fulfil a "harmonization strategy" on the protection of the external borders as a part of the efforts of alignment with the EU legislation and practice, Turkey set up a Task Force for Asylum, Migration and Protection of External Borders in 2002. It is coordinated by the Ministry of Interior. It cooperates with the Aliens, Borders, Asylum Department of the General Directorate of Security, General Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Undersecretariat of Customs, General Command of Gendarmerie and the Coast Guard Command. Three separate working groups connected to this task force were established in the fields of "asylum", "migration" and "external borders."

In January 2006 a new Accession Partnership (AP) document was adopted by the EU laying out the tasks that Turkey had to complete for convergence to occur between Turkish legislation and the EU acquis. However some politicians have become reluctant to adopt and implement the acquis since they do not believe that Turkey will really join the EU. In this respect, while increasing border management on the whole, there is some reluctance to implement all of the EU's requests. For example, Turkey does not want to sign a Dublin II type agreement which would require them to take refugees back to Turkey. This, however, probably has more to do with the attitudes towards migrants and immigrants than anything else. Despite not signing this, there have been reports of Iraqis being sent back to Turkey on more than one occasion, from Italy and from Greece. UNHCR reports that 135 Iraqis who were sent to Turkey from Greece last year were then deported to Iraq.

People from Amnesty

International told the participants of the camp more about the conditions that asylum seekers were facing. They explained that, in order to avoid having scrutiny of their detention centers, Turkey officially calls detention centers "guesthouses" and claims they have no detention centers. These detention prisons, falsely labelled "guesthouses" are located in Van, Hatay, Ankara, Izmir, Edirne, Kırklareli and Istanbul.

Turkey, which does not want to give asylum, requires refugees seeking asylum to file applications with UNHCR and try to get accepted to another country like the US or Finland. Few of the people detained know how to do this and the officials do not want to let people in to help them. The refugee coordinator of AI explained that she herself was never allowed inside a detention center. Still, another AI co-worker has been, and it is possible to speak to people who have been inside and find out about conditions. Usually, they are appalling, with insufficient food, water and other resources. Centers for 300 people have been known to have over a thousand at any time.

There have been mass hunger strikes and other forms of protest at the centers.

(More information about the detainees can be found on the internet in the 2008 RASP Report on Refugee Detention in Turkey. It is available as a PDF on the CIA website: www.cia.bzzz.net. Use the search (szukaj) function.)

Besides the interesting and horrible information given by local activists, people from Lesbos also told about their observations of Frontex operations in the Aegean. These take place in the framework of "Operation Poseidon". There is an Italian ship there, a helicopter, and Maltese troops, among other

things. The Frontex people claim to be "saving" people, but there is no sign of people they "save". (On the other hand, the detention and even abuse of migrants on Lesbos, as well as Samos and Chios was documented in the fall of 2007. The Pro-Asyl group published a report after interviewing migrants from 12th July and the 14th August 2007 on Lesbos, Samos and Chios.

The conditions were unacceptable and some people were beaten and even tortured in detention.) There was discussion about the need to better document Frontex's work and also to speed up international actions against this agency.

The No Borders Camp saw a number of such interesting workshops. Despite the annoying problems that the local people had with the authorities that created some logistic problems, the camp went quite smoothly with a lot of collective spirit and teamwork. About 150 people participated in the camp from a dozen or more places such as Turkey, Greece, Austria, Russia, Poland, Germany,

Belarus, Israel, Canada, Belgium, Sweden and probably a few other places I forgot to mention. The camp was located at the seaside, with a view on the island of Lesbos in the seaside town of Dikili. During the camp, besides the workshops, there were films, music, poetry and exhibitions.

There was also an exhibition in the center of the town and a film night for the locals, who were also invited to participate in the events at the camp.

At the end of the camp, a number of symbolic actions took place, like erecting a fake border and making a monument to the refugees who died at sea with red stones on the beach.

The activists decided to hold another camp next year in Diyarbakir. There will be some large international leftist events there next summer and probably the camp will happen around the same time.

Laure





Anti-Fascist News



In the previous issue of ABB we have published three statements written by various anarchist/antifascists from ex-USSR dealing critically, with the antifascist movement in that region. As we have been expecting, this discussion is as yet unfinished and further statements on the topic are reaching us. Please check the mentioned materials in ABB#32 in order to have better understanding of the content of the following text, which we just received shortly before closing the editorial process of journal.

Above all we hope that this critical debate will at least lead to better understanding of the situation in wild east among international movements, and in the best case, after exchange of various positions and approaches, strengthen the self-consciousness and lines of antifascists in region itself. **AbolishingBB**

Antifa in the Wild East - Internet Warrior Sets the Record Straight

Anarchist Debate about Anti-Fascism in Russia

Anti-fascism in Russia is not a political but a social movement. It is not some irrelevant lefties who imagined that "fascism is an immanent threat" and started to "fight" it. And that is how it should be - fascism is not a threat in Russia - they do not have a slightest chance to take over. At least 95% of the population hates them.

State and Capital are the Real Problem.

As there is no real parliamentarism in Russia, the threat of right-wing electionary populism is also much smaller than in most of the European countries. Usually authorities intervene quickly to dismiss nationalists from the elections with dubious legal grounds. Thus only dangerous fascists are the most marginal, and hated by even most of the other nationalists - those who kill migrants and other marginalized groups in the streets.

I do not even quote the statistics of how many people got murdered by Nazis in Russia this or last or any year, as those statistics only involve cases which make it to the news. But no matter how many it is, society does not care a fuck - or if cares, it is in form of demanding more powers to cops. Obviously none of those not directly touched by the problem are interested to fight it on their own. Society is almost perfectly atomized, people mind their own business. This is obviously due to bandit capitalism finishing off with the horizontal structures already in agony due to the authoritarian Soviet rule, but it is the shape of things to come in the West as well. Russia is not underdeveloped in terms of the "civil society" - it is overdeveloped, 20 years ahead of the West. Whatever "leftist" there currently exists in the Western Europe, it is becoming more and more irrelevant and in 20 years nothing will remain of it. Then moral politics will be dead, and only interest and lifestyle politics will remain.

Of course there is some imagined "civil society" in Russia. It is created by market law of supply and demand - as xenophobia in Russia is considered a problem in the West, there is a supply of grants thus a demand will arise as well. Whatever these

NGO's "monitor", nobody cares. But of course their voice is heard anytime you need a "specialist" to demand more money or powers to cops. More these people have such links to grassroots antifascists which Nazis may scandalously expose, worse for grassroots antifascism.

To avoid confusion, when I refer to "Antifa" in this article I do not mean these people - nor do I mean liberal political parties, all of which even have elements happy to cooperate with more moderate fascist organisations.

I have a gut feeling that most of the killed Nazis are due to "migrant Antifa". The only other group fighting back against Nazis, that is youth subculture, is way behind them. There are for sure plenty of migrants and minority nationals in youth subcultures as well, but these usually come from mixed or

otherwise integrated families, and are in a sense outside of the diasporas - actually such people are also plenty among the Nazis, maybe even more than among Antifa. Thus

these two "Antifas" do not really mix. And I am fine with that - I do not cry if some Ingushetian kills some Nazi, but I believe it should be mainly Russians finishing off with the Russian fascism, and Ingushetians finishing off with the Ingushetian fascism. I do not want a race war - Nazis already make shitloads of noise after cases when migrants have killed their activists, thus I do not spread these stories.

Mostly "migrant Antifa" also works outside the concept of Antifa. There are some notable exceptions - such as when football fans in Mahachkala of Dagestan yelled "Antifa!" in terrace as a reply of Stavropol fans shouting "Russia for Russians!", but mainly migrants understand their conflict differently. Their

code of honor does not allow a revenge against fascists as an entity, but they try to search individual Nazis who violated them and pay an eye for an eye. This of course usu-



ally only goes for mountaineers, Central Asians and Chinese are usually too atomized to have any kind of organised blood feud. Also traditionalist diasporas are organised according to traditional hierarchies, on top of which is their own bourgeoisie, which occasionally likes to make loud statements for example about their "2000 fighters ready to fight skinheads", but in practice wants to avoid conflict with Russian authorities at any price, and is mainly interested to silence any protests against Nazi rampage inside their community. It would be a rather stupid idea to attempt to build any coalition against fascism with minority nation elites.

Thus most of the credit for fighting Nazis goes to sub-cultural youth. But this is also social, not political – wearing a Mohawk is not a political statement. Thus of course this "Antifa" comes with any ills the society has in general – some are sexist, some are homophobic, some are alcoholics and junkies, some may be just plain loonies or lumpen criminals (and not that gentleman "Arsene Lupin" flavor).

In the West, I am always puzzled with people who first of all identify themselves as "squatters" or "Antifa". What the fuck is the alternative these people are proposing, a Tobin Tax? Fortunately in Russia almost all the horizontal grassroots activists consider themselves anarchists or in few cases (non-authoritarian) communists.

Actually in most of the cities Antifa is organised by a mixed scene of anarchists, punks and skinheads – Moscow is perhaps only city where anarchists are a clear (but significant) minority in Antifa. I am obviously concerned if someone considering himself anarchist is clearly homophobic and sexist, but if someone is just "Antifa" I do not really care. I do not say that these ills should be ignored, but one should be realist – no matter how many columns I write to some zine on how antifascism should be against homophobia and sexism, these will only influence a minority. Subculture always reflects values of the society – and as long as consumerism is order of the day, punks will always be way more interested about tattoos and collecting records than going to demonstrations. And in Moscow in particular most of the anti-fascists are themselves former Nazis – one should be happy just for the fact that they are now beating up their former comrades and not migrants.

There is a discussion though about sexism in the Russian Antifa movement. This because in Russian Nazi movement there are many women in prominent, even leadership positions – actually in terms of gender balance they are not doing worse than Antifa. For example cameraman and oldest member of the Ryno group, which is currently facing a court in Moscow for murdering 20 people, was a woman. Thus there is a discussion if female Nazis should be beaten up as well. In general Antifa has taken an anti-sexist position, and Nazi women are beaten up as well. But due to prevailing sexism in the society, this often backlashes against the Antifa. For example, when female Nazi Polina Sidorova got wounded during Antifa attack against Nazi concert in club "Niagara" in Moscow in autumn of 2006, Nazi video collective "Format 18" made an effective propaganda video to raise funds for brain surgery she needed. Thus some of the Antifa argue that Nazi women should not be beaten up, at least not by men. Of course Nazis themselves are not the gentlemen they claim to be – for example when Aleksey Krylov was murdered in Moscow last March, Nazis attempted to also kill a girl going to concert in the same company with him.

Following news about anti-fascism in Russia one may easily get the picture an evil and unstoppable horde of

Nazis which keeps slaying hapless anti-fascists. Another victimization issue, another reason for Western activists to feel guiltiness. Guiltiness, which I have at times indirectly exploited myself, as money for lawyer, medical and funeral bills is indeed often very much in need. This is why it is always the first priority to translate these horror stories. And stories of victories seldom get translated at all, as nobody wants to be visited by officials from UBOP (Department for Fight against Organised Crime) or FSB (ex-KGB). In former Soviet Union, activists already years ago established closed communication networks which cross borders, but in the West these are still mostly non-existing. These are not stories everyone should read – thus you do not hear of this violence porn except maybe many years later.

Talking about violence, you do not often come across pacifists in the Russian movement, thus if I see some criticism of Russian antifascism written from pacifist point of view, it is quite likely written by someone not from around here. If you are subcultural in Russia and living in a smaller place, you most likely have to fight at least once in a week. This is why even most of the hippies around know how to kick some ass.

Violence is for sure romantic, our society is totally fascinated with it, to most of the movies people go to see some violence. And stories from real life often beat movies, thus I often eagerly share them although I never participated myself. And it is not there just for the beauty of it – after all, there is not a single historical example of fascism being crushed by non-violent means (state capitalism of the late 80's was hardly comparable to fascism). Nazi by definition is someone, who is out there to kill you (unless you are a Nazi yourself, or ready to pretend to be one). Unless he is crushed, he will get you sooner or later. If this is not the case, he is not a Nazi

but just someone who thinks too much of himself. Obviously most Nazis are just pretenders, even in Russia – they do not deserve to carry the NSDAP flag. But some Nazis are worth of the name, and thus any action against them is a mere self-defence, even if it happened a year or 20 years before they were to come after you.

Nazis in Russia are perhaps far from seizing power, but for me and my comrades it is either us or them. It is easy to make hollow statements such as "using violence makes you a fascist as well", but I have no use for moral superiority if I am dead. Anarchists have been beating and killing fascists ever since they came around, and I will never piss on the grave of the comrades who made all those attempts on life of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. There are plenty of reasons why anti-fascists violence in Russia of today should be non-lethal, but they are all of a pragmatic nature, not a moral nature.

But whereas beating up Nazis is not a moral problem (perhaps it is even a moral imperative), pragmatic record of Antifa in Russia is more in doubt. It is not clear if Nazi movement is going down due to general tendency towards welfare, stability and control in Russia, due to state repression or due to Antifa. Probably all of these factors play some role, Antifa being the least significant. But Antifa has certainly put some individual Nazis and crews out from the game, and shown that Nazis may be beaten by whoever, at times even more effectively than with sophisticated state machinery of control and violence.

But I have no problem with pacifists as long as they are comrades. A good part of other activities of Russian anarchists except anti-fascism are completely in the realm of the non-violence. Often these means simply work, even if you do not treat them as a dogma – thus there is a field for



cooperation. I have a huge respect of those pacifists who are consistently anti-state and do not call cops to do dirty work for them, and for whom pacifism is not just a mask which hides cowardice. Most of the "warriors" who have a beef with pacifists are seldom 'been there done that' with violence themselves.

At least in Moscow, in 90% of the cases it is the Nazis who get the beating. If you never heard any of them getting killed, it is because Antifa did things with some skill and they also had good luck – but for sure all of them who had an encounter with Antifa will remember it for rest of their lives. Actually probably one of the reasons why Moscow Nazis are so brutal is that they got beaten up so much. In 2001-2002, when Moscow Antifa got really launched, it was 1 antifascists to every 50 Nazis, so it was way more easy to find Nazis than Antifa – and in the streets it is almost always those who have the initiative who do the beating. Also, as Nazis are much worse to conspire and they simply do not care about their rank and file, they take much more damage. Actually after all these years, Moscow Nazis have still not managed to kill a single fighter of Moscow Antifa (despite some serious attempts) – Sasha Ryukhin was in the very periphery of the movement, and Krylov had no connection to movement at all.

Moscow anarchists were occasionally beating Nazis and National-Bolsheviks since the early nineties, just as the first RASH-skinheads who came around 1998-1999. But only in 2001-2002 some people decided to give that a priority, and since then some ass was kicked about every week. First 2-3 years of Moscow Antifa are documented in the book "Dat' Pizdy", which is available online in <http://antifa-odessa.ucoz.ru/news/2008-06-24-24>. In the beginning National-Bolsheviks were picked up a few times as target practice, but although they have some boneheads they are not really involved in anti-migrant violence, and as individuals they are pitiful losers, so they are not anymore beaten up by anarchists or Antifa.

One must understand that what comes to anarchists, this is a war which we started. Russian Nazis were killing migrants ever since they began to organise, and occasionally boneheads had fun terrorizing some hapless gutter punks. But they did not care a fuck about the anarchists before they started to get beaten up. Not that Moscow Antifa was organised by anarchists only, but anarchists were always public about their support for the direct action. Perhaps the harsh reaction of the Nazis, who decided to revenge not only against Antifa but anarchist, activist and hardcore punk scene as a whole, was a surprise to some people – to me it was not. After all, they are Nazis – they are bad on public relations but good on terror. Differently from Antifa, for Nazis it is beneficial to escalate the conflict – back in the fistfight days they lost much more of their cadres to Antifa, but fewer people switch sides now when it is about life and death.

To me, it was clear from the day one that Antifa activity will result in some burials, and at times I wonder if it is really worth of it. In another hand, in counter-revolutionary times there are few fields you may work in from the beginning, and at least Antifa is on public demand for certain constituencies. Washing your hands from it would mean relying to your race privilege – it could be possible only as long as there are no significant anarchist presence in migrant communities.

Not that Antifa in Moscow or elsewhere in Russia cares a lot about strategy. Mostly it is just people who like to

beat up Nazis – doing something useful and having fun in the same time. That is not where I get my kicks, but I do not judge. Whoever claims to hate violence is most likely a hypocrite – he just wants to have it in a sterile, safe form such as TV serials, movies or computer games. To me a Nazi has less rights than some digital zombie in my computer screen, as computer monsters do not murder real people just because of their skin color.

For sure there is also the point that violence corrupts, continuous fear makes people embittered and brutal. For example case in last August, where 4 rather irrelevant Moscow Nazis got stabbed before they even pulled their knives was also for me too much. But again, this is a flip-side of having a social, not a political movement – you do not need a membership ticket to get into Antifa. Whoever confuses excesses with general strategy, does not understand what fascism is really about and what are we fighting against. Violence alone has nothing to do with fascism – fascist violence is based on hatred of everything non-conformist and different, and conditioning of that hatred by a bureaucratic machinery to an extent that you do not see a difference between your own will and will of the system. No excess of an individual may ever be fascist, as fascism is never a free moral choice of an individual but something you do for your "Reich".

The first generation of Moscow Antifa never did any claims or statements. They were not interested about leaflets, stickers or publishing journals. It was just a group of people – some from anarchist scene, some from punk scene, some from football hooligan circles, some former Nazis – who got together for just a one goal: to beat up Nazis. And they did their job well – they lost fights very seldom and never took any serious casualties. It is not correct to claim that this way nobody ever learned about the

Antifa – Nazis learned to know them very soon, and they were terrorized. First generation understood the laws of the atomization of the society – that nobody fucking cares about murdered migrants or homeless. Thus they did not even try to get public sympathy. Even cops do not really care, as long as there is no moral panic and their bosses do not demand from them to act. There has been a moral panic against Nazis since the nineties, and thus Nazis have suffered – cops randomly arrest them without



charges, take fingerprints and photos, occasionally torture for 1, 2 or 3 days by suffocating and beatings and then let go. By avoiding publicity, Antifa for a while managed to avoid most of this.

But as usual people change, there is a big turnover and at some point some people got the idea to give some interviews to journalists and to show up in TV. After this, for sure a moral panic – how may someone pretend to do job of the cops better than the cops? There was a discussion in state Duma, in beginning of the year 2007 ultra-right wing deputy Viktor Alksnis made a public enquiry where pen-names of 10 "leading Moscow anti-fascist terrorists" were published ("Bonecrusher", "Dill", "Foot", "Journalist", "Pit", "Radist", "Satan", "Shkobor", "Tigran", "Zog"), some with supposed real names and home addresses. Heat was on, and number of people were forced to leave Russia for other countries.

In a way I am involved in an effort to turn a social movement into a political one – I may point to days or even contemporary places where anti-fascism is different, where there were ideas and alternative models of the world. But maybe I am wrong – this far public discussion in Russia

about antifascism has done nothing good for the movement, except gained the movement few more comrades who maybe would have found us anyway. After all those TV documentaries and endless internet debates, nothing has changed – people are still murdered, still nobody fucking cares except those people who are being murdered. As far the general tendencies in the society remain the same, any attempts to create “movement infrastructure” in form of publications, policies, organisations, meetings or discussions is the straightest way to torture chambers and jail. Thus most likely I will do other things, and do not interfere with activities of those who like to beat up Nazis for whatever reasons they may have.

I will be there though when another lawyer, hospital or funeral bill is necessary, but I hope the time of the appeals will also soon be over. This because after all the amounts are not that big – usually around 1000 Euros for one fundraiser. In terms of financial flows of international activism, these are not such a big amounts. If we had a number of constant, reliable long-time sponsors we would quit writing fundraisers altogether and it would save much time and effort.

As we have managed to put issue of “anti-fascism in Russia” to agenda of international activist movement, I am often asked what could be done to help us. It feels kind of stupid only to ask for money, as this is reducing solidarity to something measured by monetary value. But it is often hard to imagine what else would be necessary – as I already said, fascists in Russia are not taking over and in the end only Russians may deal with the Russian fascism. Obviously most stupid thing to do when Nazis attack someone would be to set up a demonstration at your local Russian consulate – issue of street fascism has nothing to do with the state. This would only repeat the message everyone from liberals to even less extreme nationalists are repeating – more powers to cops so that they could curb “skinheads”. Russian state is not protecting Nazis – sometimes they try to play down or even deny the problem due to protect their image, but Nazis are facing heavy repression which is probably the main reason why their movement is going down. But no matter how much cops torture random boneheads, it is no way they may stop the menace

altogether – Nazis will be active just as long as they feel indifference of the society. And tactics of “decentralized resistance”, inspired by famous fantasy book *Turner Diaries*, have proved itself to be successful in Russia – no matter how much Nazis are repressed by the state, some cells will always survive. And in practice bureaucracy, competition and even hatred between different government repressive structures and very narrow focus on short-term gains mean that Nazis are surviving even the vilest government repression, thus you may never count on government on finishing off with the Nazism.

Sometimes some individual officials may have hopes of using Nazis for their own purposes, but in general the Russian police does not protect Nazis. There are cases of one police structure protecting their Nazi informers against charges pressed by other structures, or individual polices covering up their Nazi relatives – but in general these are exceptions. Some individual cops or even districts may be Nazis (for example the notorious St. Petersburg district number 76), but with others it is the contrary – there are number of cases when cops arrested anti-fascists after an action, but as their chief was a Chechen or Armenian they let them go without charges. But most of the time cops just solidarise with whoever pays them more money. When Antifa attacked concert of Nazi metal band “Korroziya Metalla” last June and some got arrested, cops let them go without charges as they hated boneheads, but anyway cops sold home addresses of the arrested to Nazis as Antifa was stupid enough not to make a better tender in prior. Actions in consulates could make sense if it is the state directly attacking anti-fascists – but in any other cases the best kind of solidarity for Russian anti-fascists would be to make an action against your local Nazis, and then put it into international context in a claim.

See you on the streets on the internet!

Anonymous Anarchist from Moscow

Anti-Racist Football Initiative from Ukraine

In the 5th antiracist football tournament in Hamburg in May 2008 also football fans from Russia and Ukraine participated. They were not only there with a team from Ukraine but also held a lecture about racism and fascism in post-soviet, and especially ukrainian, football and the connections of blood and honour fascists with football hooligans. This was their first participation, because they were denied visa by the German embassy last year. Also this year some Russian people had no chance to come because of visa problems. The contact was made via active antiracists from the soccer team of the fans of Babelsberg. There are activists from different antifascist and antiracist football-groups all over Europe who founded the international *alerta-network* (<http://www.alerta-network.tk>) last year. In the manifesto you can read “We are Anti-racist Fans, as we fight on the streets, so we also do it in the stadium.”

The local activities in Kiev are, besides writing banners and “all what football supporters do”, also making active resistance against fascists in the streets and in the tribune. There are other local antifascist groups which call themselves political, but which the active football fans call non-political and this is seen as a big problem. Because even they are involved a lot in antifascist struggles they do

not unite as they could. The group of antiracist and antifascist football fans developed out of some antifascist redskins and they decided to support a football team to fight the Nazis there. There is a massive problem with the growing activity of fascists in the hooligan scene. Their plan was to organize a weekend camp this summer in the Carpathian mountains where also football with western and other international support should take place, but combined with lectures, seminars and perhaps concerts and infotables (so far we didn't receive any report from this event – ABB). One aim of the camp was meant to be establishing cooperation of different antifa and football supporters.



Anti-Fascist News



Announcements & Appeals



Anarchist Counter-Ball Against Nationalism, Militarism and Capitalism

11 November -
Warsaw-Poland

November 11 is the Polish Independence Day. Usually, on this day, the far-right movements - fascists and nationalists - hold demonstrations and often, anarchists try to make some counter-actions. This year the holiday promises to be "extra-special": to mark the 90th anniversary of the independent Polish State, President Kaczynski is organizing a gala ball and has invited 55 heads of state to Warsaw. We doubt all of them will show up, but Sarkozy, Saakashvili, Bush and other shits are said to be already confirmed. On this day, anarchists and others will hold their own ball. We are planning at least 2 or 3 demonstrations, some actions, a concert and perhaps some other events. In short, an anarchist counter-ball.

More information should be on www.cia.bzzz.net, on the left side or in the English section shortly.

"The biggest problem is the lack of literature... we are unable to refresh our literature... we are sure that there is a wider public to libertarian ideas in our city, but..."

Support Infoshop Skatula in Rijeka, Croatia

Greetings from Rijeka,

For its sixth recurrent season, the *Infoshop Skatula* opens its doors. At the same place where we stopped before the very summer, the Infoshop in Rijeka is starting with all its activities. This year is a continuation of an intensive programme consisting of evenings for the radical freeing of our minds and our society. Experiences, ideas, and solutions for freedom, more precisely, public discussions / lectures / projections each Tuesday organized by the *Amandla* association acting closely with the Infoshop, and film projections of various topics each Sunday, from activist documentaries to the rights of women and children, horror, comedy...

We organized a "Take or Leave" corner with the Infoshop library. It's a place for everyone with

things at home which they don't use but are still usable - clothes, footwear, tools, furniture and everything else that we keep in closets, basements, attics, boxes... All that stuff is still usable so we don't want to throw it away, but we don't know what to do with it...

Alongside the "Take or Leave" corner, we organized a *DEMONKRACIJA* (diy distro/label) table for the distribution of punk and political literature, music, shirts, patches, badges, and everything else that goes with it...

With a kitchen, the "Food Not Bombs" collective acts as part of the infoshop as well. We also maintain a small basement for DIY concerts that are organized a few times per month...

Because we, through acquaintances and offers of certain associations, entered an alliance last year with these associations of the independent-cultural and activist scene, we were compelled into compromises concerning the finances for a new space. Since we had two different spaces at our disposal in the last five years which we didn't have to pay for, a moment has come when we couldn't say no to a new, better, space. That fact alone created certain problems; from the collective that maybe didn't manage very well

with its current interest and input, to a lack of people on the side, who seem to have lost the will and wish for something newer, different and more interesting? In our darker

moments there was talk about disbanding the Infoshop, because the bills, i.e. management and rent, were pushing, and we just couldn't allow the worst outcome of this whole story. At that time our only source of income was a small cafeteria, i.e. drinks, collected wrapping material, and different kinds of donations. However, the worst is behind us, and now, stronger than ever, we want to head into new victories...so we need any kind of help!

For this year, what we see as the biggest problem is the lack of literature, but we could also say that it can be considered as a small turning point in our work. A few years ago the number of the Infoshop library's users had dropped significantly, and with that some of our books, fanzines, and other stuff, also disappeared. We need any kind of help in form of donations or discounts with which we could finally raise our library to a higher level than with the case

thus far. The topics, i.e. titles that we are looking for are classical; from general politics to anarchism, ecology, alternative food diets, human and animal rights, queer, (anarcho)feminism, art and culture, any kinds of pamphlets, punk fanzines, comics, newsletters, etc. Since we are unable to refresh our literature frequently, we are compelled into actions such as these, so that we could really capacitate our library with as much as possible material that can not be found in other places like libraries, book stores, colleges, universities, and similar. We are sure that there is a wider public in our city, but this needs to be presented to them in some way...

The whole Infoshop Skatula organized programme is free, except for the concerts, which we have to charge because it pays for the food, drinks, and traveling expenses of the bands on tour!

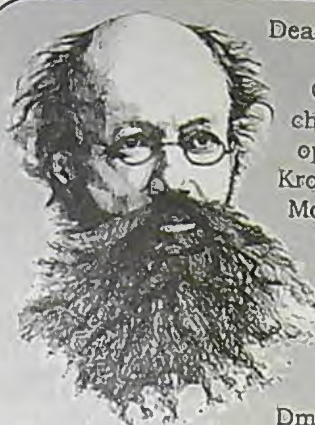
Well, that's it for now from the Infoshop Skatula collective. We impatiently await any kind of answer, positive or negative. Your help or reaction is very important to us!!

Peace, love and anarchy

See also: www.ral.anarhija.org



An Appeal for Kropotkin Museum in Dmitrov, Russia



Dear friends and comrades!

Currently a number of anarchists are attempting to win opening of house-museum of Kropotkin in city of Dmitrov in Moscow region of Russia. This is where Pyotr Alekseevich Kropotkin lived last years of his life and died in 1921. Museum existed here until year 1942. In time of Perestroika authorities of Dmitrov promised to open museum again, and in 1992, at event of the 150th jubilee of Kropotkin, authorities freed the house where Kropotkin lived. Between 2004 and 2007 it was widely announced that museum will soon open, and a memorial statue was set up in Dmitrov. Local (now deceased) amateur geographer R.F.Khohlov collected exhibits for the museum.

Right now another enthusiast and researcher is working on museum, Jan L'vovich Prusskiy, but he has limited opportunities to push forward. Already for 15 years opening of the museum is again and again delayed, now we believe that local authorities are consciously slowing down the process, as they are considering Kropotkin as a politically dubious figure. Original dome of Kropotkin was dilapidated and got torn down, a project to reconstruct it was launched, and a new identical house is already partially built, but as construction is not finished it is now dilapidating.

Unfortunately, we may not fund museum on our own - for this we would need huge treasury, also exhibition collected by Khohlov is state property. This is why we are attempting to put some pressure on local authorities to have them to finish the construction. We are ready for a political protest campaign, but we decided to start with a letter writing campaign, in order to show that there is a big interest to Kropotkin all around the world (...).

We ask you to send letters addressed to administration to Dmitrov, where you show interest to fate of the museum and when it will be opened. Letters are likely to have more effect more formal they look like - so if you have an opportunity to use a letterhead of some official institution, where you may work as a researcher, journalist, activist etc., do it.

Note your profession in letter.

We are happy to answer to any additional questions you may have.

Thank you for your support!

**In solidarity,
Olga on behalf of the initiative group.**

E-mail for questions: taoom@riseup.net

An example letter (better to write in your own words, and also to add which is your relation to Kropotkin, about research you may be conducting etc.).

If you like to, you may address another letter to director of museum and nature protection area "Kremlin of Dmitrov" Anna Sadovoy.

Please send letters to

**P.O. Box 13
109028 Moscow
Russia**

and we will pass them forward to the aforementioned authorities.

In case you do not speak Russian, we will attempt to translate your letters. In case you do, below is an example letter in Russian which you may use (in case you got letters in unreadable encoding, write to contact e-mail above).

To head of Dmitrov region
Valeri Vasil'evich Gavrilov

Dear Valeri Vasil'evich!

- Sample Letter -

Name of Pyotr Alekseevich Kropotkin - scholar, outstanding revolutionary, great humanist, one of the main theorists of anarchism and remarkable traveler, widely known all around the world. Researcher of the ice age, discoverer of many areas, historian who wrote one of the best books on the French revolution, thinker who formulated famous bio-sociological law on mutual aid as a factor of evolution and literary researcher - Kropotkin is enjoying deserved attention and respect in many countries.

Huge, stable interest to personality, life and ideas of Kropotkin is proven by the fact that many books of him are still regularly republished in many countries of the world, historians and philosophers are still studying his heritage and works. International scientific seminars, dedicated to P.A. Kropotkin are regularly organized.

We are worried, that already for many years opening of house-museum of thinker, who is known worldwide, is delayed, although staff of Dmitrov museum has gathered a substantial exhibition. 4th of September 2008 museum "Kremlin of Dmitrov" is celebrating its 90th birthday. As we know, P.A. Kropotkin was one of the founders of the museum, so this is yet another reason not to further delay opening of the house-museum of this great person.

From our part, we are ready to cooperate and to do everything which depends on us, to make the opening as soon as possible. We are writing to you with a request to inform us about the state of affairs regarding to preparation of the opening of the museum.

Date
Signature (with profession and status)
Return address for answer

The Late Report from...

The First Gay Pride Parade in Bulgaria in June 2008

"The parade was going to be a hard trial. Ultimately, this was exactly the case"

The information regarding the Gay Pride Parade was distributed to the media. The scandalous reaction was expected, yet the aggression accompanying the week before the parade was somewhat surprising. That week, everywhere you looked one could witness heated debates over the parade. The Church and the Main Office of the Mufti denounced the parade as "immoral" and "intolerable". The predominant outcome was extremely negative and in the end there was no legal organization that clearly announced its support for the event.

The most raging resistance certainly came from the many nationalistic groups and organizations, which unfortunately are large in numbers and do not meet any public resistance in Bulgaria. Threats were addressed from many of the neo-nazis - "National Resistance", "Blood and Honour", and the numerous soccer hooligans surrounding them. "BNU", the "Bulgarian National Union", which is a well-known and very well organized right-wing group, was the most aggressive one. These very well concealed Nazis officially announced the week before the parade as a week of intolerance towards gay pride. Under the slogan "Be Intolerant! Be normal!" these people poured on the streets and seized the media with xenophobic and homophobic materials and aggressive statements. The open and unpunished demonstration of hatred compelled people to give up their right to participate in the parade, and even the Prime Minister whispered that he is "not against but doesn't endorse such a parade".

After the entire xenophobic and homophobic hysteria one thing was clear - the parade was going to be a hard trial. Ultimately, this was exactly the case.

The parade itself arrived at 5 p.m. Cops were walking in front of the rally and the people were carrying a huge banner reading "Me and my family", the motto of the event. The participants numbered 20 to 30 people but when they reached the bridge many outside people joined them. A vast rainbow flag was waving in the air. People from "AnarchoResistance" waved the banner "IN SOLIDARITY AGAINST HOMOPHOBIA AND RACISM."

Around 5:15 p.m. the first bomb was thrown. Somebody cried out "Die faggots, die!" and right after that a powerful roar was heard leaving a big spot on the ground. Nobody was harmed even though the bomb was thrown among the crowd of gapers, standing at the

beginning of the bridge and having nothing to do with the parade.

While all this was happening the parade was escorted to the street. People were walking closely next to each other, tightly surrounded by the police. The participants numbered around 130 people supported by heterosexuals, couples with young children, elderly people, and foreigners. Far from this crowd the first Molotov cocktail was thrown. Nazis started walking alongside the parade and this is when the second Molotov came. Fortunately, this one was not properly set on fire. Right after the second Molotov another bomb exploded. Nobody was injured. The parade was moving quite fast. Not far from the parade one could see groups of outraged Nazis that were shouting insults but did not dare to throw anything else.

The parade closed at the "Red House - Center for Culture and Debate". People left gradually by cabs. The cops cut off the entire area. Police spokesmen were giving information to the media about the events during the day, about bombs, "cocktails", wooden rods, and knuckle-dusters found in the Nazis backpacks.

Besides all the aggression and tension surrounding the first Gay Pride Parade in Bulgaria, everything ended successfully.

What happened does not surprise us. During the communist dictatorship, people with homosexual orientation had been victimized, chased, and sent to concentration camps. They were declared "sick" and a "harmful phenomena, which does not have room in a socialist state". Alas, this stereotype, strictly imposed for the last 45 years, is still alive today!

Hatred, openly demonstrated Nazism, and aggression are everyday aspects of life for people who are "different" from the majority. Those accountable for the racism and violence widely spread among us are the members of the ruling oligarchy, a system seriously devoted to the old manner of turning patriotism and nationalism into a state line and policy. The question remains - where is this going?

**Autonomous Antiauthoritarian Group
AnarchoResistance**

www.aresistance.net



Abolishing the Borders from Below

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csaf-trencin@arachne.cz

SLOVENIA

kultura_kontra@
yahoo.com
Ljubljana

SOUTH AFRICA

Zabalaza Books
zababooks@zabalaza.net

SPAIN

* SQL Distro
Libreria Rosa de Foc
Calle: Joaquin Costa, 34
08001 Barcelona
winanar@wp.pl
* CM Bilbao-
crimentalpunx
@paginaslibres.com

SWEDEN

boekhandel info
stockholm
bokhandeln.info@gmx.net

SWITZERLAND

* cafe_kabul@
immerda.ch

* Infoladen Kasama Zürich
info@kasama.ch

TURKEY

abcankara@yahoo.com
Ankara

UKRAINE

Infoshop Kiev
infoshop@gmail.com
http://infoshop.zaraz.org

USA/North America

* Little Black Cart,
PO Box 3920,
Berkeley CA, 94703
http://littleblackcart.com
info@littleblackcart.com

* Czolgosz

jvertigo@juno.com
* AK Press
www.akpress.org



All previous issues are still available directly from ABB

ISSUE # 32, May 2008: Editorial: Putting an End to Their Democracy by the Fist; Resistance Against Frontex: Protest in Front of Frontex Headquarters in Warsaw; Mayday! Mayday!; Chernobyl March in Minsk; A Meeting Against Police Brutality in Moscow Ends in Police Brutality; Actions Against Police Brutality Continue in Moscow and Around the World; Eye-Witness Report of one Victim of the Torturing at Sokolniki Police Station in Moscow; Poland: Police attack the Refugees Again; Interview with a Victim of the Abuses at the Station; Communiqué from Bucharest: The Common Voice of the Anarchists and Anti-Militarists who gathered in Bucharest in April 2008 to Protest against the NATO Summit; Democracy by the Fist; Interview with Various Romanian Anarchists about much more than just the Anti-NATO-Summit in Bucharest; Anti-NATO Protests in Skopje, Macedonia; Action in Rijeka Against NATO; Deserter Day 2008

around Russia; Protest Against Proposed US Missile Base in Poland; Politicians and Police Against the People; Interview Summing up Slupsk-Protests and asking about Perspectives of further Resistance; March 8 in Kiev; Decentralized Days of Action for Squats and Autonomous Spaces; Anarcho-Syndicalist Bloc at Workers Demonstrations; Rank and File Unionism; No War between People - No Peace between Classes! Social Protests in Croatia with Anarcho-Syndicalist Participation; Interview with fired Union Organiser from the Lionbridge Corporation; Strikes and Riots at Workplaces in Romania; Anti-Fascist News from Poland; Declaration of St. Petersburg Anti-Fascist Resistance Group on attack on Participants of a Picket Against Kosovo Recognition; Kiev: Together Against Fascism. Moscow: A New Nazi Murder before a Concert; St. Petersburg: Anti-Fascist Rally on Nevsky Prospect dedicated to the Memory of Alexei Krylov killed by Nazis in Moscow; Sharp Criticism of the Anti-Fascist Movement in ex-USSR

Communities in Struggle

The Never Complete List of Anarchist Groups, Projects and Collectives from Eastern Europe

WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM
www.alter.most.org.pl (good english)
www.abb.hardcore.lt (bad english)

ARMENIA

* "Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; vaga@freenet.am

BELARUS

* **Anarchist Library** - Minsk; antyfa@mail.ru
 * **Autonomous Action** (also for Svoboda ili Smert-journal)
 - Gomel: satana@riseup.net
 - Minsk: belarus@avtonom.org
 - Soligorsk (Minsk region): nonexecution@gmail.com
 * "Ataka" - anarchist newspaper; ataka@tut.by
 * **Eat yourself** - D.I.Y. punk/ hardcore crew, www.eatyourselfcrew.ucoz.ru
 * "Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; ecoaction@tut.by
 * **FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchist** -
 - Minsk: P.O.Box 33, 220134;
 - Novopoloc: nuts-1@rambler.ru
 * **Food Not Bombs** - Minsk FNBMinisk@yandex.ru
 * **Free Theatre** - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; www.svobodny.kontakt.net, kscenia_izberg@mail.ru, s_gaiko@mail.ru and, aa.veta@gmail.com
 * **KDS "Razam" / Confederation of Active Initiatives "Together"** - 230005, Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; kds-razam@tut.by; www.razam.by.ru
 * **Navinki** - satirical anarchist weekly newspaper; Minsk; kampramat@tut.by
 * "Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; rebelgirls@mail.ru
 * www.anarchistory.boom.ru - history of anarchy in Belarus
 * www.375screw.org - d.i.y. political punk / hardcore culture of Belarus
 * <http://fossby.wikidot.com/> - website for free technology
 * www.linux.hitech.by - Belarusian Linux Community
 * <http://eatyourselfcrew.ucoz.ru/> - Eat Yourself crew (Gomel & Mogilev)

Zines:

* **A-party-Ya** - Brest - sanja_amatar@mail.ru
 * **Defect In Industry** - Minsk - defectindustry@mail.ru
 * **Morta Tomato** - Minsk - 225215 Belarus, Beloozersk, pr. Mira 22-3, xjesus@bk.ru
 * **New World** - Minsk - P. O. Box 37, 220053 Minsk Belarus
 * **oD.I.Y.syal** - Minsk - P. O. Box 389, 220090 Minsk Belarus, okpunkrock@mail.ru
 * **Rebel Desire** - Minsk - P. O. Box 33, 220123 Minsk Belarus, rusel@gmail.com
 * **Tryznas-kefiras** - Minsk - yesfuture@gmail.com

BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

* **Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina"** - Banjaluka; ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk
 * www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com - anarchist info from BiH

BULGARIA

* **Anarchist Portal** <http://a-bg.net>
 * **Anarchist writings** <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>
 * **Anarcho-saprotiva autonomous group** aresistance@riseup.net
 * **Anarchy in BG** <http://change.to/anarchy>
 * **Animal rights, anarcho-primitivism,**

feminism <http://anarchyfuture.a-bg.net/>
 * **'Aresistance'** - D.I.Y. anarcho punk hardcore web zine, diy@aresistance.net, www.diy.aresistance.net
 * **'Ecotopia'** - Infocenter Razgrad, infocenter.ecotopia@gmail.com
 * **Independent media center** <http://bulgaria.indymedia.org/>
 * **'Katarzis'** - DIY zine, katarzis@riseup.net, sfti.diy@gmail.com
 * **Subcultures, crust, punk, hardcore** <http://music.a-bg.net/>
 * **'Svobodna Misi'** - Bulgarian anarchist newsletter, <http://sm.a-bg.net/>

CROATIA

* **Sabota i pokvarenog sistema** - internet network collective, aktivizam@yahoo.com, www.sabotazapokvarenogsistema.tk

CAKOVEC:

* **Tabula Rasa** - infoshop, Josipa Kozarca BB, post.: p.p. 18, 40315 M, Sredisce
PULA:
 * **"Monte Paradiso"** - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; <http://squat.net/monteparadiso>; info@monteparadiso.hr

RIJEKA:

* **Rijecka anarhisticka inicijativa** - rai2002@net.hr, www.rai.anarhija.org
 * **Škatula** - infoshop, Delta 5 (Ivex building, 1st floor), 5100 Rijeka, infoshopskatula@net.hr

ZADAR:

* **Direktna akcija** - anarchoindicalist initiative direktnaakcija@gmail.com
 * **Inicijativa queer** - anarchoqueer group, inicijativa_queer@yahoo.com
 * **Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front** - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com; www.solidarnost.mahost.org

ZAGREB:

* **Anarhisticki sajam knjiga** - anarchist bookfair, www.ask-zagreb.org
 * **AnFema** - anarchofeminist action, anfema.action@gmail.com, www.anfema.tk
 * **FNB** - hno-zg@net.hr, www.hranaaneoruzje.net

CZECHIA

* **Antifascisticka Akce (AFA)** <http://www.antifa.cz>
kontakt@antifa.cz
monitoring@antifa.cz
media@antifa.cz
shop@antifa.cz
international@antifa.cz

Local anti-fascist groups by towns and regions:

- Beroun, berounsko@antifa.cz
 - Blansko, blansko@antifa.cz
 - Brno, brno@antifa.cz
 - Kladno (Antifascisticka odpor) kladno@antifa.cz
 - Kralupy n. Vltavou, kralupy@antifa.cz
 - Olomouc, olomoucko@antifa.cz
 - Opava (Autonomna antifa), <http://opava.antifa.net>, opava@antifa.cz
 - Ostrava (Autonomna antifa), ostrava@antifa.cz
 - Praha, <http://praha.antifa.net>, praha@antifa.cz
 - Prerov, prerov@antifa.cz
 - Rakovník, rakovnik@antifa.cz
 - Northern Bohemia, sever@antifa.cz
 - Teplice, <http://teplice.antifa.net>, teplice@antifa.cz

- Vysocina - Jihlava region, vysocina@antifa.cz

- Zlin region, zlinsko@antifa.cz

* **Anarcho-feminist group** - anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz, anarchofeminismus.ecn.cz
 * **-1155; KPK Praha (ex-Solidarita)** - praha@solidarita.org, www.solidarita.org, tel: +420 604 247 218

- regional group of Brno, brno@solidarita.org, tel: +420 732 616 695

* **Anarchistické sdružení Uherské Hradiště** - Anarchist group of Uherské Hradiště, uhas@email.cz

* **"A-kontra"** - anarchist magazine, c/o CAS, PO Box 223, Praha 1, 111 21, tel. +420 605 903 098, e-mail: a-kontra@csaf.cz, www.a-kontra.net

* **"Bloody Mary"** - riot-grrl/anarchist zine, bloodymary@bust.com, c/o CAS, p.o. box 223, 111 21 Praha 1

* **Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF)**

www.csaf.cz, csaf@csaf.cz - from there mail forwarded to local group or someone
Postal contact: CSAF, P.O.Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1

* **Infocafe Krtkova Kolona in Prague** <http://kk.czechcore.cz>, kk@czechcore.cz, Sochalska 6, Praha 7, 170 00, +420 604 247 218

* **Squat Milada in Prague** - <http://milada.s.cz>, milada@s.cz, Na Kindlovce 1, Praha 8

* **FSA-MAP** - Federation of anarchist groups, info@anarchismus.org, www.anarchismus.org, international secretary: fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org

- **Northern Czechia**, fas-sever@anarchismus.org
 - **Zlinsko**, fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org
 - **Prague**, fas-praha@anarchismus.org
 - **Brno**, fas-brno@anarchismus.org
 - **Jihlava**, fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org
 - **Pardubice**, fas-pardubicko@anarchismus.org

* **Info Café "Krtkova kolona"** - (anarchist info-café), Socharská 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubenec, kk@czechcore.cz, kk.czechcore.cz, Tel: 605 983 191

* **Hudební klub "Za vraty"** - alternative non-profit club with anarchist activities, tea room, Vtelno 32, 434 01 Most 1, international@zavraty.com, www.zavraty.com, tel. +420 723 555 287

* **Squat "Milada"** - Prague only squat, Na kindlovce (small house next to the student residential halls), Praha, squat_milada@centrum.cz

ESTONIA

* **Be UnderGround** - punk zine, antiporvari@riseup.net, www.myspace.com/bug_zine
 * **Food Not Bombs** - Tallinn - videomeets@hotmail.com
 * www.punamust.org - anarchist web-site
 * www.hot.ee/anarhism - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

HUNGARY

* **AFK** - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist he-punks); www.socialdisease.tk
 * **Barricade Collective** - anarchist group; www.anarkom.lapja.hu
 * **"Gondolkodo Antikvarium"** - anarchist bookshop; gondolkodo@citromail.hu Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (near metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18
 * **Ruganegra** - (street folklore staff); www.ruganegra.tk

* **Social Disease Kollektiva** (anarchopunk collective) - <http://socialdisease.tk>
 * www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo - anarchist web-site

KAZAKHSTAN

* www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

LATVIA

* **Infokaste** - anarchist D.I.Y. infoshop, cafe & distro, infokaste@riseup.net, www.neirothe.net/infokaste
 * **Pretspars Collective** - zine, distro, web, actions - <http://pretspars.hardcore.lt>; pretspars@riseup.net
 * **"Zabadaks"** - DIY culture house, zabba@inbox.lv, www.nekac.lv, tel. +371 3320666. DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia; www.nekac.lv, maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

LITHUANIA

* active@hardcore.lt - LT activists network
 * **"Elnias"** - space for various DIY activities; Vilniaus str. 72 (in the yard), Siauliai, gabrielei@takas.lt
 * **"Gyvas"** - space for various DIY activities, Kauno str. 1a (in the yard), Vilnius, xdirtr@hardcore.lt
 * **"Pavasaris Infoshop"** - Mindaugo str. 20-12, Vilnius, xdirtr@hardcore.lt
 * **"Posedziu Sale"** - DIY culture centre; Savanoriu str. 204 (4th floor), city of Kaunas; sgausiperemala@yahoo.com, fiorfraga@gmail.com, tel. +37067809606 <http://posedis.mums.lt>
 * booking@hardcore.lt - booking in Lithuania
 * www.hardcore.lt - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

MACEDONIA

* **direct action** - anarchist collective directa@freemail.com.mk
 * **fuck yoga** - a distro and label neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com
 * **kaka** - a distro and label surovo@yahoo.com
 * **napravi sam** - a collective radexxx2000@yahoo.com
 * **teror 13** - a infoshop info@teror13.tk www.teror13.anarhija.org

POLAND

* **ABC/ACK** - www.ack.most.org.pl
 - Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121. ack-wawa@o2.pl, www.emilka.bzzz.net/porady/porady.html
 - Poznan - po box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31, ack@rozbrat.org, tel. 0618484672 (tue 19-21, We-Thu 17-20), www.rozbrat.org/ack.htm
 - Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26., abcbialystok@o2.pl, www.ack-bialystok.prv.pl
 - Lodz - riefka@gmail.com
 - Warszawa-Praga - zaczek@gmail.com
 - Mielec - redakcja@innyswiat.most.org.pl
 - Przasnysz - fmb-przasnysz@o2.pl
 - Wroclaw - tomasso@riseup.net
 * **Anarchist Library** - ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.
 * **Anarchist Library** - ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.
 * **"A-TAK"** - anarchist magazine from Krakow; [atak@poprostu\(contact\);](mailto:atak@poprostu(contact);) atak.dystribucja@wp.pl (distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html
 * **"A-zine"** - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L. Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl
 * **"Bractwo Trojka"** - anarchist publishing house from Poznan; bractwo_trojka@wp.pl, www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl
 * **"Bunkier"** ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 35; Torun; stagnation@wp.pl

* **Chaos Grrrl** - anarchist-feminist zine from Warsaw; chaosgrrrl@o2.pl
 * **"Czarna Emilka"** (Black Emily) - local of GWA (Group of Warsaw Anarchists) in the very centre of the city
 * **"Czarny Pajak"** ("Black Spider") - anarchist space with discussion club; movie-projections, anarchist-library, etc. in the city of Lodz; www.czszy.prv.pl; maciek@riseup.net
 * **Dziewczyny w Akcji** (Girls in Action) - anarchist feminist group in Bialystok; www.dziewczynyw akcji.prv.pl; dziewczynyw akcji@wp.pl
 * **"Elblaska"** - squat in Warsaw
 * **Emancypunx** - anarcho-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78; www.emancypunx.com; emancypunx@o2.pl
 * **FA (Anarchist Federation)** - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.

- **FA - virtual collective secretary** - biurofa@o2.pl
 - **FA-Bialystok** - fa.bialystok@op.pl
 - **FA-Czestochowa** - akielasiak@wp.pl
 - **FA/RSA Gdansk** - jwa@pg.gda.pl
 - **FA-Krakow** - lukasdab@poczta.onet.pl
 - **FA-Lublin** - falublin@poczta.onet.pl
 - **FA-Lodz** - falodz@riseup.net
 - **FA-Opole** - sobol13@o2.pl
 - **FA-Poznan** - fa-poznan@rozbrat.org
 - **FA-Rzeszow** - xjedrusk@o2.pl
 - **FA-Slupsk** - onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl
 - **FA/RSA Sochaczew** - antinazi@friko6.onet.pl
 - **FA-Szczecin** - fa_szn@interia.pl; winanar@wp.pl
 - **FA-Warszawa** - natakr@poczta.onet.pl
 - **FA-Warszawa/Praga** - fapraga@o2.pl & fapraga@gmail.com

* Food Not Bombs

- Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45
 - Lodz - falodz@riseup.net
 - Olaszyn - edelweiss@o2.pl
 - Poznan - fmb@rozbrat.org
 - Warsaw - fmb@op.pl; www.fmb.w.pl
www.rozbrat.org/fmb.htm, we serve food every Sunday at west train station in Poznan
 - Rzeszow - ul. Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel. 602769138.
 - Gliwice - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com
www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl

* Feminist & Anarchist Feminist

Calendar - feminikalendarz06@interia.pl
 * **"Freedom"** - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. freedom69@o2.pl
 * **Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc"** (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.
 * **Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"** Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.) Open: Mon.-Fri. 18⁰⁰-20⁰⁰ or longer, Sun. 14⁰⁰-17⁰⁰ plus by appointment and during events (summer 2005 closed Aug. 15-31); fapraga@gmail.com; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop,
 * **Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA** (Workers Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers;
 * **IP-FA / Szczecin** - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.
 * **IP-FA / Silesia** - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa_silesia@hoga.pl
 * **Inicjatywa Pracownicza (Workers Initiative)** - anarcho-syndicalist trade union, Poznan; www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl
 * **Kolektyw Autonomistów (Collective of Autonomists)** - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl
 * **"Kromera"** - squat/culture centre; ul. Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.

* **LadyFest** - there are few Lady-fests in Poland (in Lodz, Wroclaw and Warsaw); www.ladyfest.webpark.pl; ladyfestwawa@o2.pl
 * **"Lesbians, Gays and Their Friends"** - festival in Wroclaw with conference, workshops, films, street actions www.nts.uni.wroc.pl/festiwal/ (co-organized by the anarcho-feminist groups)
 * **LETS - Local Economy Trade System**
 - Krakow - testey@kr.edu.pl
 - Poznan - lets@poland.com
 * **Liberta** - anarchist-feminist group in Wroclaw; libertagrrl@o2.pl
 * **"Little Mary"** - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul. Warszawska 249/25;
 * **"Mac Pariadka"** - anarchist magazine in polish; pariadka@polbox.com
 * **"Marcowanie"** - anarchist-feminist mailing list, bulletin and regular women camp
 * **Obin (Warsaw)** - radical street-art collective organising workshops, internet and silkscreen for free; www.obin.org
 * **"Pilon"** - underground bar/cafe open Mo, Th, Fr and Sa from 7pm; adress: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl; www.pilon.za.pl
 * **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** - www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. wildeast@poczta.onet.pl
 * **"Radical Cheer Leaders"** - anarchist female cheer leader team based in Warszawa; rchpl@o2.pl
 * **Refuse** - underground label & mailorder (books, zines, music); www.refuserecords.prv.pl
 * **Revenge of The Nerds (Warsaw)** - anarchist-feminist zine distribution/editors; www.revengeofthenerds.bzzz.net
 * **Revolution Diva** - anarchist-feminist zine (Poznan)
 * **"Rozbrat"** - squat/ collective/ anarchist center/ anarchist library - ul. Pulaskiego, 21a, Poznan; P.O.Box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31, fa-poznan@rozbrat.org, www.rozbrat.org, www.foto.rozbrat.org
 * **S.E.K.W. "Krzyk"** - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul. Sienkiewicza 25; tel. +48 504878370).
 * **Sister to Sister** - anarchist-feminist group/network around Poland, mail-order and anarchist dyke zine "Lechtaezka"; sistertosister@o2.pl
 * **"streFA"** - infoshop in Szczecin; ul. Domanskiego 1c, tel. 504935357.
 * **"Szwejk"** - anti-military service and Poznanian Anti-war Coalition; ul. Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31, www.antywojenna.prv.pl, antywojenna@rozbrat.org
 * **"Tekno Collective"** - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl
 * **Ugrupowanie Feministyczne Anarchistyczne (UFA)** - anarcho-feminist group in Poznan; ufa@rozbrat.org
 * **Valpurgi Night** - regular festival against homophobia and sexism in Warsaw, with workshops, conference, spoken word, concerts, films... www.myspace.com/noewalpurgi;
 * **Wiedzma (The Witch)** - anarcho-feminist group; Po Box 3321-500 Biala Podlaska; Poland; witchgrrl@poczta.onet.pl; www.wiedzma.most.org.pl
 * **"Ya Banda"** - anarchist samba band Milanówek/Warszawa. olga23@o2.pl

ROMANIA

* **Aactiv-ist Collective Timisoara, Antifa autonome** - anarchist punk group aactivistcollective@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@bumerang.ro
 * **A Nera** - ecological, social and (counter) cultural center; in the mountains Cheile Nerej; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
 * **Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action)** -

spleenpatty@yahoo.com
 * **C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front)** - anarhist collective from city of Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com
 * **Fight Back** - anarchist collective Bucharest, www.fight-back.tk
 * **Gluga Neagra / Black Hood** - distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours; g_a_rezidenta@yahoo.com
 * **Info-Propaganda** - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com
 * **URA** - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; www.antifa-antitot.blogspot.com; libertatero@yahoo.com
 * **Love Kills** - woman anarchopunk zine / Craiova; www.lilith-lovekills.blogspot.com; jolierouge101@yahoo.com
 * **"Revolta 1"** - bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
 * **Subteran Collectiv** - anarchist-activists collective in the city of Iasi; subteran_jasi@yahoo.com
 * **www.prolectus.org** - grassroots activist site

RUSSIA

* **A-Distro (Moscow anarchists distro)** - http://a-distro.avtonom.org/, a-distro@yandex.ru
 * **Alliance for Animal Rights (Radical non-hierarchical grassroots activism for animal rights)** - http://aar.org.ru/ http://animalrights.ru/ Contact: news@animalrights.ru
 Alterkom - network of student resistance in Petrozhavodsk http://altercom.forum24.ru/ altercom@bk.ru
 * **Anarchist Black Cross Moscow** - P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia (no name of the group to envelope, please!) www.avtonom.org/abc www.myspace.com/abcmse abc.msc@gmail.com
 * **Anarchist Black Cross of St. Petersburg** - Alekdandr Vitalyevich Yernakov P.O. Box 194291 St. Petersburg (no name of the group to envelope, please!) sprafa@riseup.net novsvet89@gmail.com
 * **Anarchists of Petrozhavodsk** - www.ptz-anarchist.narod.ru ruinos (A T) mail.ru
 * **Anarcho-communist group "Derzay"** - Derzay-zine P.O. Box 152 420044 Kazan Russia http://derzaj.ru red@derzaj.ru
 * **Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group - Russia** - http://aeliberation.net, aeinfo@aeliberation.net
 * **Antifa Ulan-Ude** - afa.ulanude (A T) gmail.com www.myspace.com/afa_ulanude
 * **Anti-fascist Association of St. Petersburg** - http://afaspb.mahost.org/ tel: +7-812-947 14 76
 * **Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA-IFA) - member groups and individuals**
 - **Union of Kaliningrad Anarchists - SKA** www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru aswindle@gmail.com
 - **Alliance of Kazan anarchists - AKA** P.O. Box 132 Kazan 420059 Tatarstan Russia; antimil@narod.ru
 - **Krasnoyarsk group of ADA** ada-krk@mail.ru
 - **St. Petersburg** maridze@gmail.com
 - **Yaroslavl (individuals)** ada-yaroslavl@riseup.net http://anarcho.front.ru
 - **Zelevnogradskiy Union of Anarchists**

zhisa@list.ru
 * **Alliance of Libertarian Initiatives (of St. Petersburg)** - (Coordinates local activities of Anarchist Black Cross, Autonomous Action, Food Not Bombs, Pyotr Alekseyev Resistance Movement, Punk Revival, St. Petersburg League of Anarchists and others) spbnabat@gmail.com
 * **Autonomous Action** - www.avtonom.org, info@avtonom.org,

Regional groups of Autonomous Action:
 - **Blagoveschensk (Amur region):** ad_bлага@riseup.net
 - **Irkutsk, also for Free Siberia-paper:** www.avtonom-irk.mahost.org/ a.volokos@gmail.com
 - **Kirov:** osna@yandex.ru
 - **Krasnodar:** P.O.Box 3472 350001 Krasnodar Russia krasn@avtonom.org, asmodeys1@gmail.com
 - **Magadan:** truebadguy@riseup.net
 - **Moscow, also for Avtonom-journal:** adm@avtonom.org, avtonom@avtonom.org P.O.Box 13, Moscow, 109028 (no name on envelope, please!)
 - **Nizhny Novgorod, also for Situation-paper:** P.O.Box 25 603104 Nizhny Novgorod Russia (no name on envelope, please!) avtonom69@gmail.com, situazion@avtonom.org
 - **Novosibirsk:** nsk@avtonom.org
 - **St. Petersburg, also for PetrogrADets - paper:** ad-spb@riseup.net
 - **Saratov:** pkropotkin@yandex.ru
 - **Tyumen:** streetriot@inventati.org, akbar@riseup.net
 - **Ufa:** ufa@riseup.net
 - **Vladivostok, for Udar-paper:** ad_vl@riseup.net

Cities with individual members of Autonomous Action:

- **Ivanovo:** kvazimodo@riseup.net
 - **Izhevsk:** avtonom.cinema@gmail.com
 - **Kaliningrad:** ska-konig@mail.ru (parempi osoite?)
 - **Magnitogorsk:** razer@list.ru
 - **Petrozhavodsk:** ruinos@mail.ru
 - **Murmansk:** P.O. Box 4614 183959 Murmansk Russia, tel: 22 89 73 (Aleksandr), vpl@inbox.ru
 - **Ryazan:** http://ad-62.narod.ru/ad-62@bk.ru
 - **Chita:** Myrava.trava@gmail.com

Individual distributors of press of Autonomous Action:

- **Vologda:** blacklag@list.ru
 - **Yekaterinburg:** P.O. Box 329 620135 Yekaterinburg Russia, libertarizm@gmail.com
 - **Perm:** deadsun@rambler.ru, ad-perm@rambler.ru
 - **Sakhalin:** paha_keeper@mail.ru
 - **Samara:** avtonom-samara@yandex.ru
 - **Sochi:** palma17v@gmail.com, gaura@riseup.net
 - **Yaroslavl:** anarcho_kommuna@mail.ru, hkos_68 AT mail.ru

* **Bakunin Fund** - Komilov Sergey Gavrilovich Kuvshinovskiy Rayon, s. Pryamukhino 172101 Tverskay aoblast, Russia tel: +7 (48257) 75 160, +7 (495) 918 40 04, +7 (916) 322 33 47 www.bakunin-fund.da.ru/ bakunin-fund@mail.ru
 * **Black Bloc (Voronezh)** - http://blackbloc.anho.org blackblok0@gmail.com
 * **Clandestine Insurrectionary Rebel Clown Army in Moscow** - ka@riseup.net
 * **Critical Mass (Moscow)** - http://massa.org.ru/, critical.mass.moscow@gmail.com

* **Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-Syndicalists (KRAS-AIT)**
 - **Moscow:** P.O.Box 34, 117485 Moscow Russia (no name of the group to the envelope) http://kras.fatal.ru/, comanar@mail.ru
 - **Rostov-na-Donu:** P.O.Box 4059, 344103 Rostov-na-Donu Russia socprotest@pochta.ru
 - **Saransk:** tmunzer@mail.ru
 - **St. Petersburg:** olga1971 (A T) list.ru
 - **Tver:** horek.ru@mail.ru
 * **Cultural Center "DUPOLO" & Alternative movie club Diversija in Samara** - www.duplo.narod.ru, duplo@yandex.ru
 * **Food Not Bombs** -
 - **General contact:** fnbru@riseup.net
 - **Barnaul:** iniciativa-barnaul@yandex.ru
 - **Irkutsk:** makima@yandex.ru
 - **Kazan:** fnb-kazan@yandex.ru
 - **Kirov:** punkauskirov@mail.ru
 - **Krasnodar:** fnb_krsndr@mail.ru
 - **Krasnoyarsk:** afa-krk@yandex.ru
 - **Moskva:** http://edavmestobomb.narod.ru, fnb-msk@riseup.net
 - **Nizhny Novgorod:** fnbnov@rambler.ru
 - **Novosibirsk:** x316x@mail.ru
 - **Perm:** fnbperm@mail.ru
 - **Rostov-na-Donu:** subbacultcha@mail.ru
 - **Samara:** tipunarija@rambler.ru
 - **St.Petersburg:** epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru
 - **Tyumen:** fnb_tyumen@autistici.org
 - **Ufa:** fnb@inufa.org
 - **Vladivostok:** fnb-vladivostok@mail.ru
 - **Volzhkiy:** fnbviz@mail.ru
 - **Voronezh:** fnb-vrn@yandex.ru
 * **For the Abolition of Vivisection! - Initiative group (SHAC Russia)** - http://zhestokosti.net/, http://stopanimaltests.livejournal.com, skazhi@zhestokosti.net
 * **Free Trade Unions Confederation of Tomsk** - http://kulac.narod.ru
 * **Free University (anarchist lectures in St Petersburg)** - voluni@list.ru
 * **House-museum of Pyotr Alekseyevich Kropotkin** - tel: +7(495)993-92-04 (Jan Lvovich Prusskiy), m448@mail.museum.ru
 * **Indyvideo** - http://indyvideo.ru/, indyvideo@riseup.net
 * **International Gnostic Front of Liberation** - http://gnostic.front.ru gnostic@front.ru
 * **Network of Working Place Resistance** - http://antijob.tk/, cockney@rambler.ru
 * **Punk Revival - St.Petersburg** - http://pv.mahost.org/, aocats@gmail.com
 * **Punk-Revival Moscow** - http://pv.anho.org/forum/index.php oipunkpw@googlemail.com
 * **Rainbow Keepers:**
 - **Moscow:** Hranitelisvetlana@gmail.com
 - **Samara:** duplos@yandex.ru
 * **Red Skins - Anti-fascist skinheads** www.redskins.ru/, admin@redskins.ru
 * **Siberian Confederation of Labour** www.skt.org.ru, http://skt.org.ru/wordpress/
 * **Victor Serge library** - www.praxiscenter.ru, praxis2001@mail.ru, praxiscenter@gmail.com
 * **http://404team.org/** - activist tech group, n@404team.org (also Jabber)
 * **www.a-pesni.golosa.info/** - Anarchist songs
 * **http://new-novsvet.narod.ru/** - Anarchists of St. Petersburg
 * **http://antifa.ru** - Website for "patriotic" anti-fascism
 * **www.antifa.p0.ru/** - Anti-Fascist Information & Analysis Portal
 * **www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru** - Anti-yuppie - news of anti-glamorous culture of Kaliningrad and surrounding region, witamin_w38 (a t) rbemal.ru
 * **http://golosa.info** - Golosa.info - open publishing website from Tumen region, admin@golosa.info
 * **http://hippy.ru** - portal of active hippies

(also for Vmeste-zine), lubava@hippy.ru
 * <http://ru.indymedia.org/> - Indymedia Russia, indyru@nadir.org
 * <http://kuban.indymedia.ru> - Indymedia Kuban (Krasnodar region and Adygeya), imckuban@riseup.net
 * <http://piter.indymedia.org/> - Indymedia Piter (St.Petersburg), imc-piter@riseup.net
 * <http://imc-siberia.org> - Indymedia Siberia, info@imc-siberia.org
 * <http://squat.anho.org/> - News about squatting and squatter movement
 * www.makhno.ru - A website on Nestor Makhno
 * www.diy-zine.com/ - A zine archive

Notable blogs

* <http://anarchism.ru.livejournal.com>
 * <http://anarchia.ru.livejournal.com>
 * <http://anatrira.livejournal.com> - migration, anti-fascism etc.
 * <http://avir38.livejournal.com> - anarhizm in St.Petersburg
 * <http://copyleft.livejournal.com> - copyleft, copyleft, creative commons, etc.
 * <http://ecole.livejournal.com> - ecology and anarchism in Pskov Novgorod
 * <http://mikola.livejournal.com> - anarcho-communism in Belarus
 * <http://shraibman.livejournal.com> - history of anarchist movement, syndicalism...
 * <http://streetmedia.livejournal.com> - Squatting, prisoner support...
 * <http://tupikin.livejournal.com> - Vlad Tupikin
 * <http://vivalafora.livejournal.com> - syndicalism, history of anarchist movement...
 * <http://syndikalist.ru/> - name says it all

Zines:

* **Girls Are Strong** - St. Petersburg - gas_zin@mail.ru
 * **FakFood - Irkutsk** - foodzine@yandex.ru
 * **Imhopang** - Moscow - imhopang.punk.ru
 * **Insomnia** - Moscow - P.O. Box 64 109147 Moscow Russia, www.myspace.com/insomnia_zine, endishear@gmail.com, podonok@gmail.com
 * **Interpretation** - Moscow - P.O. Box 16 117437 Moscow Russia, interpretation_zine@yahoo.com
 * **Kamardzhoba** - Nizhni Novgorod - crust-nn@mail.ru
 * **Knives and forks** - St. Petersburg - zilonis AT newmail.ru
 * **Liniya Fronta** - St. Petersburg - frontline@riseup.net
 * **Meet with the resistance** - Magnitogorsk - razer@list.ru
 * **No Borders** - St. Petersburg - noborders@front.ru
 * **Refuse Resist-zine** - www.rfrs-zine.narod.ru, rfrs.info@gmail.com
 * **Rod Svart Punk** - Perm - K.S. Pylaev P.O. Box 6594 Perm Russia, rod_svalt@front.ru, ICQ: 354-310-442
 * **Vse vmeste** - Petrozavodsk - scandalsp@mail.ru
 * **Taynoe Pisanie** - Kaliningrad - www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru, aswindle@gmail.com

SERBIA

* **ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative** - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); www.inicijativa.org
 * **Federation of Internationalist Anarchists** - federacija@ml1.net
 * **Kontrapunkt** - editorial & newsletter collective
<http://www.kontra-punkt.info>
 * **Subwar Collective** - Belgrade; shavedwomen216@yahoo.com
 * www.anarchy-serbia.tk

www.inventati.org/anarhizam or www.anarhizam.tk
 * www.afanovisad.tk - Antifa Novi Sad
 * **Zluradi paradi** - band/ collective for translating brochures, www.zluradi-paradi.anarhija.org

SLOVAKIA

* **Anti-Fascist Groups**
 - **Trnava (AFA)** - antifa-trnava@safe-mail.net
 - **Bratislava (AFA)** - <http://blava.antifa.net>, bacityafa@yahoo.com
 - **Bratislava (Autonomna Antifa)** - bratislava@antifa.cz
 - **Bratislava - nazi monitoring** - <http://monitor.revolt.org>, monitoringba@yahoo.com
 * **Alternative Magazine in slovak language** - biedaduchay@safe-mail.net
 * **Antifascist Action from Trnava** - antifa-trnava@hushmail.com
 * **Cirny Kriz (CK, Black Cross)** - ciernykriz@yahoo.com
 * **CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation)** - slovensko@csaf.cz
 - **Bratislava** - bratislava@csaf.cz
 - **B.Bystrica** - bbystrica@csaf.cz
 - **Trencin** - trencin@csaf.cz
 - **Vychod** - csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com
 * **FNB Trnava** - jedlotti@safe-mail.net
 * **KATT** - collective of anarchist tourists, kattkolktiv@yahoo.com
 * **Priama Akcia-MAP**: www.priamaakcia.sk
 - **Eastern region**: vychod@priamaakcia.sk
 - **Bratislava** - ba@priamaakcia.sk
 - **Western region** - zapad@priamaakcia.sk
 - **International Secretary** - intersec@priamaakcia.sk
 - **Postal contact** - Priama akcia, P.O. Box 16, 840 08 Bratislava 48, Slovensko

mobile phones:

- +421 949 387 174 - Priama akcia - VA?chod (east)
 - +421 949 708 508 - Priama akcia - Bratislava

* **Info@Police** - www.infoapolic.sk, info@infoapolic.sk (Bratislava)

SLOVENIA

* **A-distribution "Kontrakultura distribucija"** - kultura_kontra@yahoo.com
 * **Akd Izbruh Kulturni Bazen** - autonomous culture centre in squatted swim-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd_izbruh@yahoo.com
 * **Anarhiv Resource Center** - Metelkova 6, SI - 1000 Ljubljana, tel. 00386-1-4340345, anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org, www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv
 * **SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** - saf.info@email.si
 * **Union of self-organised workers** - SiSD/USW - is.usw@yahoo.com Tel.: 00386(0)31892967

UKRAINE

* **International Union of Proletarian Revolutionary-Collectivists (left-communists in Ukraine)** - prometej2003@ukr.net, proletar@ukr.net, <http://iupre.250free.com>

ARTEMIOVSK

* **Rage of the youth zine** - Artemyovsk - fnb_art@mail.ru, xvegyv@yandex.ru

DONETSK

* **Anarchist Federation of Donetsk** - samoorg@mail.ru, 83017, Donetsk-17, private box 1819.

KHARKOV

* **Animal rights alliance** - save-animals@mail.ru, kharkov@animalrights.ru
 * **Autonomous Action** - akh@nm.ru, antifa@km.ru
 * **Svobodna** - anarcho-feminist web-page

(russian language) www.svobodna.org.ua
 svobodna@riseup.net

* **Diyhc** - hardeore/punk web zine, <http://diyhc.org/>, diyhardeore@gmail.com
 * **FNB** - die.young@riseup.net
 * **People for animal rights** - glazoo@ya.ru
 * **Zaraz** - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives, www.zaraz.org, info@zaraz.org
 Infoshop, <http://infoshop.zaraz.org/>, infoshop@gmail.com

LIVIV

* **Antifa** - antifalviv@ua.fm

ODESSA

* **Diversiya** - infoshop, Knyazheskaya str 30 - 32,
 * **FNB** - animal_rights@riseup.net

RIVNE

* **Come Alive** - diy punk/he concerts, tolizban@yandex.ru

SEVASTOPOL

* **Autonomous Action** - vlasti_net@mail.ru
 * **Animal liberation group**, Antifa, Food Not Bombs and other activity: klim_kacha@mail.ru, dzyina@yandex.ru
 * **Group active in animal rights**, Antifa, Front Aids: keeponfighting@mail.ru
 * **Vlasti net** - zine, vlasti_net@mail.ru

SUMY

* **Anarchist Federation of Sumschina** - <http://www.fas-2017.uk/>, fas-2017@yandex.ru

ZHITOMIR

* **FNB** - fnb.zhytomyr@mail.ru, private box 127, Zhitomir, 10014
 * **'Zhyvy'** - distro, www.truemens.narod.ru/distrotr.htm, truemen@mail.ru
 * **'Veselka'** - distro, makefuture@ukr.net, diyzhytomyr@ukr.net
 * **'Suck Out'** - zine, www.truemens.narod.ru/suckoutzone.htm, anyom@inbox.ru
 * **'Squat UA'** - zine, truemen@mail.ru
 * **'Far For'** - zine - makefuture@ukr.net, diyzhytomyr@ukr.net

TURKEY

* **"AForum"** - www.internationala.org
 * **Anarsist Bakis** - <http://go.to/anarsistbakis> - archive of anarchist texts
 * **ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent** - abckara@yahoo.com
 * **"Imlasiz"** - www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net - anarchist magazine
 * **"Isimsiz"** - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com
 * **KaosGL** - www.kaosgl.com - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine
 * **"Kara Kizil"** - www.karakizil.tr.cx - anarcho-communist group
 * <http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net> - anarchoprimitivists
 * <http://ankarafanzin.freesevers.com> - zine from Ankara
 * <http://veganarsi.cjb.net> - anarchoprimitivist zine
 * www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari - anarchist publisher in Istanbul
 * www.mecmu-a.org - magazine from Istanbul



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Anarchist Counter-ball

**Against Nationalism,
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